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PRYINGS AMONG PRIVATE PAPERS

CHIEFLY OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

BY THE AUTHOR OF
"A LIFE OF SIR KENELM DIGBY"

[E. T. Longueville]

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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PREFACE

It has been the lot of the present writer, in the course of certain biographical studies, to look through many volumes of the *Reports of the Royal Historical Commission.* In every instance he had to limit his researches to special subjects; but the temptation to turn aside and read the odds and ends of gossip, or fact, that casually met his eye, was often almost too strong to be resisted. As a bribe to keep himself strictly to the subjects in hand, he promised himself, on some future occasion, to look through the same volumes, reading the odds and ends, and the odds and ends only, carefully eschewing everything biographical, historical, political, or instructive; in short, instead of searching diligently for the important, to look lazily for the unimportant. Having copied out many of the passages that took his fancy when he fulfilled this promise, it occurred to him that it might be worth while to give others an opportunity of looking at them, not so much for the value of the extracts themselves as to attract the attention of ordinary readers to a series of volumes

constituting a literary mine, rich in treasures of very various descriptions. He hopes that the following hodge-podge may at least demonstrate the fact that the *Reports of the Historical Commission* are by no means limited to the subject of history technically so called; that they may be found a veritable happy hunting-ground for the curiosity-hunter; and that they are as open to the depredations of the flippant dipper and skipper as to the profound researches of the grave student.

This volume is not strictly speaking a book. It can scarcely be even called so much as a piece of book-making. It is a mere collection of extracts. If few should care to read much of it, perhaps something more than a few may take it up and glance at some of its anecdotes of the past relating to matters in which they happen to feel an interest.

Although the title, *Pryings Among Private Papers*, exactly describes the contents of the pages it precedes, no undue inquisitiveness or breach of confidence has been committed in their compilation or publication; for the owners of those private papers had already permitted them to be examined and published by the officials of the British Government. On the other hand, the papers from which extracts have been made are private, the compiler having avoided all the parliamentary, corporation,[1]

[1] Except in one or two instances.

ecclesiastical and borough papers of which the *Historical Commission* publishes a very large number.

The question presented itself on what principle a number of extracts, about a great variety of subjects, should be arranged and introduced. A certain anecdote-monger had a favourite story about a gun. When sitting at dinner, he used to knock under the table with his knee, and exclaim: "What was that noise? Was it a gun? By the way, talking of guns—" and then he told his story. The compiler of the following extracts has kept this noble example before his mind when at a loss for an introduction to a fresh subject.

Some of the extracts given in these pages have already appeared in other books besides the *Reports of the Historical Commission;* but it is hoped that they may bear yet another repetition. The compiler—or shall we call him the extractor?—does not profess to have read the volumes which he has examined very carefully, and possibly, among the collections of papers from which he has made extracts, there may be many passages far more entertaining than those that caught his eye. Moreover, he has only glanced through a limited number of the volumes published by the *Commission*, publications rapidly developing into a considerable library in themselves.

He has the pleasure of expressing his thanks for much valuable assistance from Mr. Walter Herries Pollock. And it is his duty to acknowledge the kindness of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office, in granting him permission to reproduce various extracts from the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.*

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PRYINGS AMONG PRIVATE PAPERS

From this heap of extracts, which shall we take first? Let us begin with the cradle and end with the grave.

The moral to be drawn from the *Reports of the Historical Commission* respecting births into this world is that they were very expensive. Godfathers, and even visitors, were expected to give handsome presents to the monthly and other nurses, and the clergy looked for large fees from the parents. The following entry in a sixteenth-century account book would appear to relate exclusively to the parental expenses, and money in 1598 was worth a good many times over what it is worth at present:—

"1598 & May 6.

"Christening of the young Lord Percy, Rewards &c. £85-19-2."—*MSS. of the Duke of Northumberland, App. to 6th Rep.*, 227.

More than a century later the nurses expected the godfather to "remember them."

1703, April 5, Lichfield. Lord Stanhope to Thomas Coke, M.P.

"I wish you much joy of your daughter, & take it very kindly that you & my sister are pleased to

think of me for a godfather to my little niece. Since I am not in town I desire you would make choice of whom you please to represent me. . . . Pray distribute five guineas for me among the caudle makers." —*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. iii.*, 23.

Of girlhood we find little; but there is much in the *Reports* about the engagement of tutors and the sending of boys to school. In the next extract it may be seen that Dr. Busby, whose reputation, by the way, has not been handed down to posterity as chiefly remarkable for his "love" of his pupils, apparently attributed an attack of small-pox to riding in the heat, drinking beer when hot, and over-eating.

LADY WINWOOD TO HER SON [IN LAW], LORD MONTAGEW.

"[1648?] You will see by Mr. Busby's letter that poor Raphe[1] has got small-pox. As soon as it was suspected, Mr. Busby moved him into a house in the stable yard, & sent for Dr. Wright, who, being ill, sent the apothecary instead, & would have sent a nurse, but Mr. Busby does not wish either of them to see him. As he has now been ill five days & is said to be doing well, I think we had better leave him in the hands of his master—who, as you will see, expresses much love & care towards him—& of the woman into whose charge he has been given.

[1] Lord Montagu's second son, who afterwards succeeded to the title.

Edward[1] is quite well so far, but I advise that he be sent to Lady Montagew's, & then if he falls sick he can be nursed there. Meanwhile he can go to school, & he & his man can diet at Mr. Busby's. I am of Mr. Busby's opinion that the boys have ridden too much in the heat, drinking beer when they were very hot, & eating too much also; & I believe Bettie will do the like as long as she is abroad."—*MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu*, 164.

We shall meet with Lady Winwood again in a few pages.

At the school mentioned in the following letter, there appear to have been rules and privileges unknown in modern schools, at any rate so far as the compiler of these extracts is aware.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY TO HIS FATHER, THE FIRST DUKE OF ATHOLE.

"Perth, 16 Mar. 1710. May it please your Grace, when I was in the school this fornenoon, there was a Grandsone of Ledy Rollos who was whipt, & I, by the privaledge I received at Candlemis, went to protect him but the schoolmaster would not allow me; &, when I asked him why I might not doe it, as well as former kings (*sic*), he answered that it was he that gave the privaledg, & he could take it away again, & I told him that it would be an afront. He answered that he would not alow me to doe it, & ordered me to sit down, that it was non

[1] Lord Montagu's eldest son, who was killed during the life of his father, in the naval battle against the Dutch off Bergen.

of my busines. After he had done me the afront, I resined al the privaledges I had. I cane assure your Grace I gave much pains to my book, especially sins I saw your Grace last, which the schoolmaster can't say against, but now I may say it is impossible for me to give pains after such an afront. I would [have] gon out of the school if I had no[t] thought that it would offend your Grace; & hops your Grace will not alow me to be so affronted, & let me stay no longer at school, or els I will be moced [mocked] by every one. I am &c. George Murray."[1]—*MSS. of the Duke of Athole*, 12*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VIII.*, 64.

There are plenty of letters from parents to children, when those children had grown up. Here is a specimen :—

CHARLES EARL OF DORSET TO HIS SON, LORD BUCKHURST. NO DATE, BUT BEFORE 1706.

"Pray do not faile to make what hast you can posible to come over by the next opertunity with your numerous family. i heare my Lady Northamton[2] has ordered you not to obey me, if you take any notice of what shee sayes to you i have enough in my power to make you suffer for it beyond what shee will make you amends for. But I cannot imagine you to bee such a fool as to be governed by the passion & folly of anybody. Your afectionate father,

[1] Lord George Murray became Lieut.-General to the Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, and fought at Culloden. He afterwards followed the Prince to Rome.

[2] Lady Northampton was Lord Buckhurst's mother-in-law.

Dorsett. i expect you will come away by the next yocht."—*Mrs. Stopford Sackville's MSS., I.*, 32.

As an instance of a letter from a son to a mother, conveying a suggestion, if not a gentle reproof, the following could scarcely be surpassed for respect, tact, affection, or courtesy. In the three hundred years that have passed since it was written, manners have not in all respects improved :—

EDWARD MONTAGU TO HIS MOTHER, LADY MONTAGU.

"1600, June 19, London. . . . I hope you will not be weary of my company in the country, for when my sister Theodosia is gone from you, you will not be well pleased unless you have some of your children with you. And I hope may be so set to work that I may at my father's hands earn my victuals, for which I may keep him company at chess, & if need be take his part at double Irish, & if there be weightier matters, as punishing of rogues & such like, if it please him to employ me it may ease him. And to you some service I may in the summer-time [gather aprico]ts & peaches or some such like work, & when they are well pic[ked I will] do my best, (if Rawson be out of the way) to learn to pack up [the] boxes better than my brother Webster & I could do last year.

"I do fear you have lost a collop[1] & continue

[1] Presumably "lost flesh.'

still weak.[1] You know I am seldom without a medicine for my friend, what distaste soever he hath. It becomes me not to conceal it from you, for I know that if you will observe it, you shall find good from it. I have not read it in Galen, but learned it out of Solomon, *a joyful heart maketh a cheerful countenance.* This cordial hath these properties—it will quicken the eye, ruddy the cheeks, clear the blood, & make the skin fair. There is never a lady in this town but might be glad to know the secrecy of this, & it might save them much cost that they bestow upon colour & complexion. . . . I beseech God to give you this cordial comfort, & then I doubt not of your perfect recovery. . . . I crave your daily blessing."—*Lord Montagu of Beaulieu's MSS.*, 28-29.

From babies, boys, and children, we will proceed to marriages. Here is the announcement of one in 1571 :—

J. Lord St. John to the Earl of Rutland.

"1571, July 28, Fetter Lane. . . . Th' Erle of Oxenforde[2] hathe gotten hym a wyffe—or at leste a wyffe hathe caught hym—that is Mrs. Anne Cycille,[3]

[1] From a previous letter it appeared that his mother was ill—or thought herself ill.

[2] Seventeenth Earl of Oxford. One of the wits at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, a poet and a playwright. He was distinguished in tournaments, and he had a command in the fleet that opposed the Armada. He was one of the peers who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots.

[3] Daughter of the celebrated Lord (treasurer) Burghley.

whearunto the Queen hathe gyven her consent, the which hathe causyd great wypping, waling, & sorrowfull chere, of those that hoped to have hade that golden daye. Thus you may see whylst that some triumphe with oliphe branchis, others folowe the chariot with wyllowe garlands."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, 12th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 94.

We have next a little story of a storm about a marriage raised by no less a person than Queen Elizabeth. Lady Bridget Manners was one of the Queen's Ladies-in-waiting, and her mother, Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, who was an invalid and lived entirely in the country, arranged a marriage for Lady Bridget with Robert Tyrwhitt of Kettleby in Lincolnshire, and got her married without asking the permission or approval of her august mistress.

The Countess had been warned by Roger Manners to obtain the Queen's leave. After congratulating her upon having made an arrangement "with the executors of Mr. Tyrwhitt for the wardship and marryage of the yongue gentleman," he says that, in accordance to her wishes, he has "acquainted the Lord Tresuror with the matter. His Lordship liketh and alloweth thereof, so as your ladyship in my opinion shall not doe amisse to make his lordship acquaynted with the rest & to requyre his furtherans to obtayn leve of her Majestie for my lady your dawter's comyng unto your honour." June 19, 1594.

Mary Harding, who seems to have been in attendance on Lady Bridget, in a letter suggesting another suitor, speaks of Lady Bridget's weariness of court life, and suggests that she should pretend to have the measles in order to escape from it :—

MARY HARDING TO [ELIZABETH] COUNTESS OF RUTLAND AT WINKBURNE.

"[1594], July 5. The Court at Greenwich. . . . I think the nearest waye wer to fayne the messelles so she might leve for a mounthe to se your Ladyship, to ayre her. And when she wer once withe youre honor, you myght sene to gett the Queen's favor. It woulde be easily granted when she wer so far from her."

But, somehow or other, "the Queen's favor" was not granted before the marriage of Lady Bridget took place. The following letter seems to show that Lady Rutland pretended not to have consented to the marriage taking place before the Queen's assent had been obtained :—

THOMAS SCREVEN TO ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF RUTLAND, AT BELVOIR CASTLE.

"1594, Aug. 20, London. . . . Upon the retorne of the Lord Chamberlaine & Mr. Vice-Chamberlain to the Court . . . I delivered your Ladyships letters to them both, for I founde it needeful to use them both, least any one of them havinge not been entreated on your Ladyship's behalf might the soner

upon ynclynation to her Majesties conceipte, have aggravated your Ladyships contempt—as her Majestie takes it—which needed not. They bothe have promised ther honorable furtherance for your Ladyship, & accordingly have informed her Majestie how far you cleare yourself from all acquaintance with this late marriage, but her Majestie neither by the sight of your Ladyship's letter, nor by all the reasons they can use, wilbe persuaded to beleave that your honor could be ygnorante of it. Her Majesty groundeth this her conceipte upon the opinion her Highness hath long had of your Ladyships wisdom & of my Lady Briget's obedience to you, concludinge therupon that a matter of such waight could not be don without your Ladyships acquaintance, the same beinge no lesse than the mariage of your owne daughter, in your owne house, & by your owne chaplain, nor that my Lady Briget would have adventured so great a breache of duetye, as to have don this her last & greatest acte without your honours acquaintance and consent first had therto."

As to Mr. Tyrwhitt, says the writer of the letter, "the gentleman is like to be ymprisoned, & my Lady Briget must also be comytted, onely her Majesty vowchsafeth this grace that she shall not be sent to a prison but comytted forthwith to custody of som lady, but wher is not yet resolved.

"What more may follow, God knoweth, for her Majestie is highly offended, & principally against your Ladyship &c."

The Countess delayed in sending her daughter up to London for committal, whereupon she received this epistle :—

LORD HUNSDON [1] TO ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF RUTLAND.

"1594, Sep. 9. The Court at Greenwich. . . . I am sorrie that you shewe yourselfe so carelesse or so negligent in obayinge of her Majesty's commandment sent to you by me for sending up of your daughter my Ladie Bridgett, which lettar I knowe was delivered to you, whereof yet ther is had no answer, nor she sent up for aniething I canne heare of; wherewith her Majesty is not a littell offended and thinks herself undutifullie handled at your hands. And therefore hath commanded me once agayne to command your Ladyship in her name to send her upp presentlie to my Ladie of Bedford according to her first commandment; as also whie you have forborne to do yet heitherto. And so not dowting you will have a better consyderacon of your dutie herein then hiethertoe you have had, least her Majesty do look further into that mariage then yet she hath done."

The prisoners were soon set free :—

[1] A great favourite of Queen Elizabeth's. His fatal illness, two years after he had written this letter, was said to have been caused by his disappointment at not being made Earl of Wiltshire. When he was dying, the Queen visited him and brought him a patent for the Earldom, when he said: "Madam, seeing you counted me not worthy of this honour while I was living, I count myself unworthy of it now I am dying" (Fuller's *Worthies of England*).

LORD HUNSDON TO THE COUNTESS OF RUTLAND.

"1594, Nov. 27. The Court at Somerset House. . . . Whereas it hath pleased her Majesty by the mediation of fryndes & partle in respect of his late sycknes, to set your son in lawe Mr. Terwitt, at libertie, so hath she now graciously consydered of your daughter my Lady Bridgett, & hath likewise sett her at libertie, & withall commanded me to lett your Ladyship knowe that she doth not impute the fawlte so much to the young cople as to your Ladyship; for thowgh my Lady Brigett hath taken the fawlte upon herself to excuse your fawlte, yet her Majesty is well assured that my Lady Brigett would never have maried without your consent, & speciall commandment, so as she thinks your Ladyship more fawltworthie than they. But now having sett them both at liberty, ther rests but for your Ladyship to send for your daughter as you sent her to my Ladie Bedford's by her commandment, whoe is now heere in this towne redie to deliver her whensoever your Ladyship sends for her, & the sooner the better, for my Lady of Bedford hath byn long burthened with her; & her husband would come downe with her."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. i., 12th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 321-324.

The next correspondence concerns parental arrangements for the marriages of children in the Montagu family:—

MARY, LADY MONTAGU, TO HER BROTHER-IN-LAW, EDWARD, LORD MONTAGU.

"1630, December 15. . . . Being desirous to take your advice to bestow my daughters first makes me to intreat your advice for my daughter Ann, whom I would willingly bestow on a wise & religious husband, which were able to live of himself, for when I have matched my daughters, I think that which I have will but maintain me. The Countess of Manchester . . . told me that Sir Dodly Noth would fain match himself with my daughter Ann, but I do not know what to think by him, for his father hath sold his land at Harrowe the Hill & his land at the Cherter House, so that they say that my Lord will give him £10,000, but how I may be sure of it I do not know."

Meanwhile Lord Montagu was on the look-out for a bride for his own son, and he asked his relative, Montagu Wood, to help him to find one. Wood thought that he had discovered what was wanted in the daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby.

MONTAGU WOOD TO LORD MONTAGU.

"1631, December 12. . . . She must have £800 by the year by her mother, she hath a sister married divers years to one Sir Henry Griffithe, & as yet hath no issue. Her father hath no son, he hath but one brother, unmarried, yet above forty years old & a recusant, which Sir Henry doth much dislike. His estate is very great, & having no son, I think he will make her portion according to her match."

Wood added that he had suggested Lord Montagu's son to Sir Henry, and that Sir Henry had made no objection; but had observed that he had already had two other "sons" offered to him, and that his daughter was only sixteen.

The next day Lord Montagu wrote, thanking Wood for his services, but observing that his son, like the girl, was but sixteen, and that he "had rather he should see a little of the world before settling down." He added: "I wish you had not named me," and that he would much rather find a wife for his son who had land instead of money, though "both if I could." After this rather mundane desire, he winds up with "Marriages are made in heaven."

Both Lord Montagu and Sir Henry Willoughby evidently attempted to make up the above-mentioned match, though without success; for, eight months later, Sir Henry wrote to Lord Montagu:—

"1632, August 2. . . . I am much troubled to see that your noble son can gain no greater interest in my daughter's love. Whether it be that he hath not been trained up so well in the school of Venus as he hath been in the school of the Muses I know not, or whether my daughter hath vowed virginity I know not either, but that which I most fear is that she hath placed her affections upon some mean person, which she will not discover until my head be laid in the dust."

This match fell through; and, six months later, young Montagu was making love, again with parental approbation on either side, to a daughter of Lady Winwood; and, for a second time, his advances were not, at first, reciprocated.

ELIZA., LADY WINWOOD, TO LORD MONTAGU.

"1632[3]. According to your desire, your son & my daughter have met & made some trial of each other's affections. . . . Upon my earnest pressure of him to deal clearly with me in his liking, he professed freely that of himself, & not by the labour of friends, he did affect my daughter, which gives me much satisfaction; & though I cannot yet give your Lordship the like in my daughter, yet I see good hopes to invite you to Town."

It may be that this reference to the unwillingness of the daughter was in reality a cloak for the unwillingness of the mother to proceed further in the matter unless Lord Montagu would promise better settlements; for she goes on to say:—

"If it please your Lordship therefore to hazard a journey hither, to supply those things that are yet imperfect in your offers & to enlarge those that are yet, both in respect of her portion & your Lordship's honour, too small, I do very well hope (for your Lordship shall find in me nothing unreasonable) that the match may proceed, to God's glory, their content, & your Lordship's & my comfort."—*MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu*, 112-117.

This time Lord Montagu's efforts were successful; for his son married Anne, daughter and eventually sole heiress of Sir James Winwood, of Ditton Park, who had been principal Secretary of State to King James I. Lord Montagu, himself, was taken prisoner by the parliamentary party, in the civil war, and was confined in the Savoy, where he died at the age of eighty-one.

In the following written soliloquy, Anne, Countess of Dorsett, describes her married life, as the wife of two successive husbands, who were as "worthy noblemen as any there were in this kingdom," and apparently as contentious.

FROM THE DIARY (COMPILED IN 1649): "BY THE CARE & INDUSTRIE OF LADY ANN CLIFFORD COUNTESS OF DORSETT, PEMBROOKE & MONTGOMERIE, DAUGHTER & SOLE HEIRE OF GEORG CLIFFORD LATE EARLE OF CUMBERLAND."

"I must confess with inexpressible thankfulness that through the goodness of Almighty God & the mercies of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the world, I was born a happy creature in mind, body, & fortune, & that those two Lords of mine to whom I was afterwards by the Divine providence married were in their several kinds worthy noblemen as any there were in this kingdom, yet it was my misfortune to have contradictions & crosses with them both. With my first Lord about the desire he

had to make me sell my right in the lands of my ancient inheritance for money, which I never did nor never would consent unto; insomuch as the matter was the cause of a long contention betwixt us, as also for his profuseness in consuming his estate & some other extravagances of his.

"And with my second Lord because my youngest daughter, the Lady Isabella Sacville, would not be brought to marry one of his younger sons, & that I would not relinquish the interest I had in five thousand pounds, being part of her portions out of my lands in Craven. Nor did there want divers malicious willers to blow & foment the coals of discontent betwixt us. So as in both their lifetimes the marble pillars of Knole in Kent & Wilton in Wiltshire were to me oftentimes but the gay harbours of anguish. Insomuch as a wise man that knew the inside of my fortunes would often say that I lived in both these my Lord's great families as the river of Rhone or Rhodanus runs through the Lake of Geneva without mingling any part of its streams with that Lake—for I gave myself wholly to retiredness, as much as I could in both those great families, & make good books & virtuous thoughts my companions, which can never deserve affliction nor be daunted when it unjustly happeneth, & by a happy genious I overcame all these troubles, the prayer of my blessed mother helping me therein."—*MSS. of Lord Hothfield*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VII.*, 89.

Not the least curious, among the love-letters of the past, are those written by married people who had not yet seen each other. Here is a correspondence between Charles II. and Queen Catherine, after their marriage by proxy, but before the Queen had even started for England :—

CHARLES II. TO HIS WIFE, CATHERINE, INFANTA OF PORTUGAL.

"1661, July. . . . I am now about to make a progress in my dominions, whilst awaiting the arrival from hers of my supreme good. I cannot rest anywhere, & vainly seek relief from my inquietude, longing to see her beloved person in my kingdom as anxiously as I desired, after long exile, to see myself there, or as my subjects desired to see me, the which was shown to all the world by their demonstrations on my arrival. May you have the peace which comes from the protection of God, with all the health & happiness that I can desire."

"1661 [August 21?] . . . I pray you give entire faith & credit to what [Sir Richard Fanshaw] says in my behalf, especially as touching the assurance of my devoted love, which goes on increasing as the joy of seeing you & the right to call you mine draw nearer, & will do so more & more when you are my own. May God guard & grant long life to you, whom I long for every day & hour."

QUEEN CATHERINE TO CHARLES II.

"1661, December [12]22, Lisbon. Very dear husband & lord, only the pleasure of receiving a letter from you can compensate me for the pain which the lack of it cost me, for as I know not how to live without this solace any delay is very distressing to me. . . . Not to delay my gratitude for your kindness, I send this reply by Sir Richard Fanshaw, . . . so that, as I cannot have the happiness of myself assuring you of my affection, he may testify to you my solicitude, & be the means of alleviating it by begging you to let me hear from you as continually as I pray to God to bring the fleet quickly to carry me to your presence, when, seeing you, my longings will be at an end. Meanwhile I beg God to give prosperity to your life, upon which all my happiness depends."—*MSS. of J. M. Heathcote, Esq., Conington Castle*, 17-25.

Novels were formerly often written, and are still, though less often, written, wholly or partly in the form of letters, and here follows a romance of real life, described in a correspondence between the parties most concerned. It deals with the courtship and married life of John and Lady Frances Russell. John, afterwards Sir John Russell, Bart., was the son of Sir Francis Russell of Chippenham. His sister had married Henry, son of Oliver Cromwell; and the lady who became John's wife, was a daughter of Oliver

Cromwell. Her first husband had been Robert Rich, a grandson of the Earl of Warwick, and he had died a few weeks after his marriage.

From letters in 1662 and 1663.

JOHN RUSSELL TO LADY FRANCES RICH.

". . . When I wrote last, I was afraid to receive a favour from your Ladyship, lest it should fill me with such ecstasies as might throw me out of my very being, & now I die unless I may obtain one. Thus devout, religious souls tremble when they are going to heaven, & yet pine & mourn because they are not there. . . . Yes, Madam, I am resolved to throw myself at your ladyship's feet. . . . I fly, methinks I am all wings &c."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

". . . I cannot sleep but with a great deal of disturbance, I have not the same advantage of air as other men, I do not so much breathe as sigh, this is the condition I have been in ever since I saw you last . . . nothing (in this world) can give me anything of ease but one line from your Ladyship, for which I as earnestly beg for [*sic*] as I would for a morsel of bread if I were ready to starve."

LADY FRANCES RICH TO JOHN RUSSELL.

"I am very sorry you have entertained an affection which proves so troublesome to you & hope you will not wonder if I take care to preserve myself from the passion which has done you so much mischief.

. . . Surely that which unmans you, which torments you with much fear, grief & impatience, which disturbs your rest, denies you the common benefit of air, (& so near Newmarket Heath too,) & turns all your breaths into sighs, must needs be very dangerous to a poor silly woman. . . . You are too honest to wish another sick. I hope your recovery, & if I have not forgot the contents of your last, I think I have more than satisfied your desire, for you were so reasonable as to consider my poverty, & so only requested one line."

JOHN RUSSELL TO LADY FRANCES RICH.

". . . I beg no expressions of kindness from you, I do not so much as tell you how much I honour & serve you. The excess of my passion for you, as well as my respects to you, strike me dumb & confound me. . . . The same understanding which commands me to love you, requires you to slight and scorn me; only, Madam, indulge me this freedom, to assure your Ladyship that I must, in spite of your too, too reasonable severity, live or die yours. . . . I am such a sinner, methinks its pride in me to pray, nor may I ever expect to be blessed unless, like heaven, you forgive & show mercy to your Ladyship's most humble creature."

LADY FRANCES RICH TO JOHN RUSSELL.

"I have received yours, & have only now time to thank you for the very great expressions of love I find in it. I will not now complain of you or chide

you, otherwise I could take it ill you should, after all that has passed between yourself & me, say you are in a doubt whether I love you."

She then recommends patience.

JOHN RUSSELL TO LADY FRANCES RICH.

"Assures her that it is impossible to express the torture he is in until she satisfies the hopes she has given him leave to entertain, he being like a man pressed to death who cries, more weights, or like those good souls who have had a foretaste of the blessedness to come. He is all wing, flame & desire, & conjures her, by heaven's example, & by her pity, compassion, bounty & goodness, to perfect what she has so generously begun, to abbreviate the tedious, dark interval in which he languishes, & to pronounce his jubilee & triumph."

If, in the following letters, written later in the same year, after the marriage of the two correspondents, there is no want of affection, there certainly is a descent, from high-flown sentiment and expression, to a more ordinary view of life.

JOHN RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE, FRANCES RUSSELL.

"My dear, Lord Thomond[1] has gone a-hunting, but expects to find you here on his return, has taken great care in having a good dinner on your account, & will be extraordinary concerned if you come not. . . . If you make haste, you may be here soon enough."

[1] Lord Thomond was John Russell's brother-in-law.

FRANCES RUSSELL TO HER HUSBAND, JOHN RUSSELL.

"My dear, I have received thy letter & am sorry I cannot answer thy desires. There is no possibility of my coming; the horses are at plough,[1] & besides, my present indisposition will not suffer me to wait upon that good company where you are. I am sure you cannot want a great deal of company to eat up your good dinner. . . . Eat for thyself & me too."

The correspondence continues to be very amiable until four years later, when there is a note of a letter which, ending with an assurance of marital devotion, infers the existence of a previous tiff.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE, LADY FRANCES RUSSELL.

"[1667?] Sep. 12. —— Is so angry with her for her severe letter that although his London troubles are like to end on Saturday next, he cannot be in good humour until she makes him amends, & is no longer so cruel as to doubt the real love of her poor husband, who thinks himself in purgatory whilst absent from her dear self."—*MSS. of Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley*, 25-34.

Princesses, as we shall see in the next letter, were not always enraptured on being informed that matches had been made for them.

[1] Even in eighteenth-century novels we read of ladies being unable to have their carriages because the horses were ploughing.

COPY OR DRAFT OF LETTER, APPARENTLY TO THE MARCHIONESS OF ATHOLE, RELATING TO THE PROPOSED MARRIAGE OF H.R.H. THE PRINCESS MARY TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE:—

"October the 23 [1677]. Upon Sunday between 3 and 4 a clock his R.H. tooke Lady Mary into his closet & told her of the resolution was taken to marry her to the Prince of Orange speedyly. It was so great a surprise to her to be married & leave her Father & Mother[1] & all our little world here & all in 2 or 3 weekes that she exprest her resentment in teares only. . . . Att 4 a clock the Prince is to come to Lady Mary to make an acquaintance with her, the Lady Governess being present onely. . . . 'Tis thought she will be marryed within 5 dayes & be carried away suddenly after."—*MSS. of the Duke of Athole*, 12*th Rep., App., Part VIII.*, 34.

The next romance was a case of love-at-first-sight. The spelling of its description is as curious as the match itself:—

[1716] APRIL 8. LADY ANNA BERTIE TO THE HON. MRS. SHIRLEY.

". . . All the talke att prasint is of a very od Weding wich has lately happned hear, tho you do not know the Lady I cannot help giveing you an account of, am Sure did y^{u} know her you must be of my Mind, that nothing that weres petticoates

[1] She was only fifteen.

need dispair of a husband, She is a boute three score & has nether beauty witte nor good humour to recommend her she is of a make large enough for the Grand Senior. Standing one lucky hour att her Window thear past by a genttellman about the same age who casting hies eyes upwards beheld this Queen of Beauty & att this time was taken w^th^ Such a fluttring att his heart that he could not rest till he had Broke his mind to her & he soon found releif, for theay said Matrimony in a week & hethertoo think themselves they happyest Couple in the Kings Dominions, God keep them so say I, &c."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Townshend*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IV.*, 234-35.

The next extract may seem in some sort an exception to the extractor's rule of avoiding strictly historical matter. But though it is concerned with no less personages than King Charles I. and his Queen, the purpose of its inclusion is to show that even royal couches are not exempt from curtain lectures.

12 JULY, 1626. COPY OF INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY CHARLES THE FIRST TO HIS ENVOY TO THE FRENCH KING RESPECTING HIS DIFFERENCES AND REASONS FOR DISSATISFACTION WITH HIS QUEEN, HENRIETTA MARIA.

After stating that "It is not vnknowne both to the French King & his mother what vnkindnes & distastes haue fallen between my wife & me, which

hitherto I haue borne with great patience (as all the world knoweth) ever expecting & hoping an amendment, knowing her to be but young, &c.," he says: "Shee . . . one night when I was a bed put a paper in my hand, telling me it was a list of those she desired to be of her revenue, I took it & said I would read it the next morning, but withall told her that by agreement in France I had the naming of them, she said they were both Inglis and French in the note. I replied that those Inglis I thought fitt to serve her, I would confirme, but for the French, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature; —then she said, all those in that paper had brevetts from her mother & her selfe, & that she could admitt no other; Then I said it was neither in her mother's power, nor hers, to admit anie without my leave, & that if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in, then she badd me pleinely to take my lands to my selfe, for if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would haue neither lands nor house of me, but bad me give her what I thought fitt in Pension: I bad her then remember to whom she spake, & told her she ought not to vse me so, then she fell into a passionate discourse, how she is miserable in hauing no power to place seruants, & that businesses succeeded the worse for her recommendation, which when I offred to answer, she would not so much as heare mee: Then she went on saying, she was not of that base quallety to be vsed so ill, then I made both heare

me and end that discourse."—*MSS. of W. M. Molyneux* (*The Loseley MSS.*), *App. to 7th Rep.*, 676.

And then, it may be piously believed, His Sacred Majesty turned over and pretended to go to sleep.

That ladies knew how to fill their letters with gossip during the seventeenth century is shown by a letter from the

COUNTESS OF BURLINGTON TO DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

"1674, Nov. 16, London. . . . I would gladly now divert your Grace with such news as falls within my sphere (not pretending to state matters), but here at present only some late marriages which holds up discourse, as that of my Lord Buckhurst with Lady Falmouth in the summer, but not owned till my Lord Middlesex[1] had breathed out his last, by which the former has all his estate, though not without suit threatened by my Lady Dorset, his mother. My Lord Pembroke's address to my Ld. Mar. Kerwell, though declared against (both to His Majesty & her sister) by his mother, is so far advanced as the marriage is only suspended till his cure perfected.[2] In the meantime he has presented his mistress a diamond ring of £900 price. My Lord Roscommon's[3] marriage to the Duchess's maid of honour, [Isabella] Boynton, was at six at night, in Sir Allen

[1] Brother to Buckhurst's mother, through whom Buckhurst inherited Lord Middlesex's estates.

[2] This marriage never took place, as Lord Pembroke died in the same year.

[3] The poet.

Apsley's chamber, by the Bishop of , from whence immediately, in the dark, they went to Dick Talbot's[1] at Twittnam; returned here Saturday night & Sunday morning. He attended the Duke into Sussex, where they hunt some few days, & when this hurry is over they may, I suppose with leisure, consider where the portion may be raised, which is expected only from the King's & Duke's county. My Lady Eliz. Howard of Arundel is likewise married to one, Captain McDonnell, who was formerly under my Lord Roscommon in his French expedition; all which shows though matrimony be generally slighted, others take it up, whether with or without consideration as time shall try."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Ormond, New Series, vol. iii.*, 356.

Few men prefer their sons-in-law to their own sons; but here is an instance of an exception to this rule:—

1701, Nov. 18, London. Earl of Chesterfield to Lady Mary Coke.

"I believe, dear daughter, that your good wishes, mentioned in your last, have freed me from the gout, for I never in my life had so easy & so short a fit, for it lasted but eight days. I do take extreme kindly the concern & care you have had of your brother,[2] as also the accounts you have given me of him, without which I should have been absolutely

[1] Afterwards Duke of Tyrconnel.

[2] This brother became father of the celebrated Lord Chesterfield.

ignorant of his condition. For though I lately settled a good estate upon him, & have got him a great fortune with his wife,[1] without taking a farthing of it myself, & have writ him a long letter to express my kindness to him by my trouble for his illness, yet he has neither had so much sense or gratitude as to answer my letters; but one cannot change the nature of things, & I am satisfied with what God has given me. But if in his place I had a son like your husband, I should have gone out of the world with the satisfaction of believing that I left one behind me who would make one of the greatest men in England."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 439-40.

Here are some sisterly instructions to a brother respecting his wedding trousseau.

CAROLINE LADY MILTON TO HER BROTHER, LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE,[2] JULY 26, 1754.

Lord George was about to be married.

"Be sure you let me know as soon as you can guess when the wedding will be. . . . To be sure

[1] Lady Elizabeth Saville, daughter of William, Marquess of Halifax, and his only child by his second wife, through whom she may have inherited a fortune.

[2] Lord George Sackville was the third son of Lionel, seventh Earl of Dorset, afterwards created Duke of Dorset. As a soldier, at the battle of Minden, he incurred the displeasure of Ferdinand, Prince of Brunswick, and he was censured by a Court Martial, held at his own request, after his return to England. As a statesman he afterwards held very high offices, and he was created Baron Bolebrooke and Viscount Sackville of Drayton.

somebody has told you by this time that you should have more than a new coat. You should have two or three at least new suits of clothes. . . . I don't mean very fine clothes such as you made last year for the birthday & to make a figure last year in Dublin, but all half dirty scrub things should be given away, & new linnen without you have made any very lately & certainly some new laced ruffles." —*Mrs. Stopford Sackville's MSS., I.*, 42.

In what follows, we have a romance contained in three letters, from which quotations are given. The writer of the letters, one supposes from their tenour, must have been acting as companion, or travelling tutor, to Lord Bruce, at that time aged nineteen, during a tour on the continent.

Rev. Thomas Brand to the Earl of Ailesbury.

"1793, Jan. 15, Naples. . . . We took advantage of the fine weather to carry Lady Berwick & her daughters to Cuma & Baia. The most eloquent pen could not do justice to the beauty of the views, yet the cold in some particularly exposed points was so severe that it chilled our enthusiasm more than once. But I must acquaint your Lordship (in great confidence) of an incident that happened in this excursion, as it may have no small influence on our future life. Miss Hill & her younger sister were on horseback & gone on before, whilst the other sister & Lady Berwick were with me at some distance

behind, getting upon *Cuccios* as they were tired of walking. Lord Bruce was with the former when on a sudden the horses (who it seems did not participate at all in the sentiments of the riders) began to plunge & kick at each other. Our dear charge spurred his & disengaged him from the combat, but Miss Hill's continued kicking & turning round violently with her. I expected every moment to see her dashed to pieces, when Lord Bruce jumped from his horse, ran with great intrepidity & presence of mind to her assistance, & came up just in time to receive her in his arms at the very moment that the pummel of her saddle broke, & (not being able to disengage her foot from the stirrup) she was falling head foremost to the ground. We had now got up to them; she was pale as ashes & very near fainting, but was relieved by a violent hysteric laugh. We procured another *cuccio* for her, which he led by the bridle & never quitted, & in a few minutes every symptom of fright vanished. We proceeded on our journey, & having seen the *Piscina mirabilis* &c. &c., we ate our cold dinner with excellent appetite on the Southern terrace of a cottage which overlooked the Elysian fields, & all was tranquil, except, perhaps, the emotions of gratitude in one heart & a tender satisfaction in the other. When we were all in good humour & had expelled cold & hunger by the spices of our pie & the generous warmth of Falerian wine, I could not resist the temptation of making a little experiment on the state of their minds, & observed

to Lady Berwick with an air of careless mirth that I had read descriptions of the scene which had just happened in almost every romance I could remember, but that I now thought myself qualified to make a much better description than any I had read. It was really curious to see the effect of this remark. Her Ladyship laughed heartily, but it was still a sort of forced laugh; she clearly thought it might end as much like a romance as it began. The two sisters gave each other a most expressive look & joined in the laugh. The young man blushed & was for a moment much agitated, but the poor heroine, whose face was a still deeper dye, turned her head entirely aside, & it was long before she ventured to look at any of us again, & I began to fear the laugh which she affected would have turned to a tear. I then pushed it to a strong caricature & told Lord Bruce that it was very ungallant that he did not break his arm,[1] that it would have been very chevalier-like to have worn it six weeks in a sling, &c. &c., which soon brought on a real laugh & recovered the whole party from their confusion, though Miss Hill, when she at last looked at me, gave me a good-natured smile of half reproach."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"1793, April 27, Florence. In consequence of your Lordship's letter of 29th March, I immediately acquainted Lady Berwick with the welcome news of

[1] Much such an accident occurs in Fielding's *Tom Jones*.

Lord Bruce's proposals, & your Lordship's acquiescence. She received it with the sincere satisfaction of an affectionate mother and desires me to express her sense of the honour done to her family."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"1793, May 21, Florence. The deed is done. . . . I performed the ceremony last night about half past six at the Quercia in the presence of Lord & Lady Hervey, Mr. Monk & Lady Elizabeth, Lady Berwick & her daughters. We then drank tea & had the bride cake handed round, & in about an hour we took our leaves and returned to Florence."—*MSS. of the Earl of Ailesbury*, 251-54.

There is a good deal in the *Reports* concerning "affairs of the heart" not directly connected with marriage, and this is especially the case in letters during the reign of Charles II. The following extract gives a lively idea of the tone set when the Court was at Oxford :—

D. DE REPAS TO SIR ROBERT HARLEY.

"1665, Oct. 19, Oxford. . . . For news from Court I shall tell you that one cannot possibly tell a woman from a man, unlesse one has the eyes of a linx who can see through a wall, for by the face & garbe they are like men. They do not weare any hood but only men's periwick hatts & coats. There is no othere plague here but the infection of love; no other discourse but of ballets, dance, & fine clouse; no other emulation but who shall look the

handsomere, & whose vermillion & spanish white is the best; none other fight then 'I am yours.' In a word there is nothing here but mirth, & there is a talk that there shall be a proclamacon made that any melancoly man or woman coming in this towne shall be tourned out & put to the pillory, & there to be whep till he hath learned the way to mary *à la mode.*"—*MSS. of the Duke of Portland, vol. iii.*, 14*th Rep., App., Part II.*, 293.

There was needless alarm at the Court of Charles II.—in London, however, and not at Oxford—five years later:—

1670, July 16. Mr. Henshaw to Sir Robert Paston.

"There were lately several bullets, to the number of 40, shot into the King's Gallery & garden; the Politicks judged there was treason intended, & that they were shot with white powder, because no noise was heard; but at last it is found to be an ordinary fellow that not far keeps tame pigeons, which it seems his neighbours' cats are very lickorish of; he, to be revenged, watches to kill all cats that come over the tiles with his stonebag,[1] & some of his shot have reached into Whitehall."—*MSS. of Sir H. Ingilby, Bart., App. to 6th Rep.*, 367.

As the compiler of these extracts has demonstrated in another volume,[2] there was a mania at the

[1] Sling?

[2] *Rochester and Other Literary Rakes of the Reign of Charles II.*

Court of Charles II. for rhyming. The King gave almost unlimited license to his favourites for anything they could put into verse—even when that verse was of the lamest.

IMPROMPTU LINES BY LORD ROCHESTER.

"The King was merry with his nobles, none being able to make a rhime to Lisbone,[1] they sent for him, who upon promise of pardon began thus with a glass full of wine :—

Here's health to Kate
Our Sovereign's mate
Of the royal house of Lisbone,
But the devil take Hyde
And the Bishop beside
That made her bone of his bone."

—*MSS. of R. W. Ketton*, 12*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IX.*, 189.

If the most notable sin among the courtiers of Charles II. was licentiousness, that of the courtiers of Charles I. was greed, including plotting for office and emolument. Lord Middlesex, for instance, had been complaining to Charles I. of having received nothing "of that good King's bounty." Sir Robert Pye showed the groundlessness of that complaint.

1634. SIR ROBERT PYE TO SIR JOHN COKE.

"My humble request is you would present this paper to His Majesty : the reason, my Lord of Middlesex did most peremptorily affirm to His

[1] Lisbon.

Majesty that he never had anything of that good King's bounty before he married the Duke's kinswoman; & that you please to read the particulars, &c. . . .

"1. First in the time of Your Majesty's father, King James of happy memory, the office of General Surveyor of the Customs . . . at £1,000 per annum for eight years, & so sold for £5,700 to Sir Philip Carey, which doth amount to £13,700.

"2. The Office of Wine Taverns . . . for 12 or 13 years . . . £4,000, & he keeping £6,000 in his Lordship's hands after given by His Majesty, & the place sold to Williams the goldsmith for two lives for £4,000, by His Majesty's permission, in toto £14,000.

"3. The Office of the Wardrobe . . . and the lease of the Sugars . . . in all £47,000.

"The Office of Master of Requests given by King James, sold before his marriage for £3,000 & above to Sir John Suckling, &c.

"The Office of Wards & made Councillor . . . worth to him aboue £10,000."—*MSS. of the Earl Cowper, K.C., vol. ii.*, 66-67.

To value the pound sterling early in the seventeenth century at fully four and a half times its present value, is a very moderate estimate; therefore the £87,700 which Sir Robert Pye stated to have been obtained by Lord Middlesex, through his various offices, would be equal in value to little short of £400,000 of our money.

Nor did only laymen seek the royal favour, as may be learned from the next letter, in which a bishop describes the coronation of Charles I. That "Busshop," as he calls himself, was clearly anxious to be in high favour with the powers below, as well as with the powers above.

FEB., 1626. LETTER FROM LEWES, BISHOP OF BANGOR, TO HIS FATHER-IN-LAW, SIR SACKVILL TREVOR, KNT., AT PLAS NEWYDD.

". . . I thancke god I never had so much favor in my lif from his majestie, as I had synce I cam vp last. I was one of the Busshops who held the cloth over his head whilst his majestie was annointed, & after his annointing he graciously kissed me & some 5 busshops who weare at the annointing, as the ceremony is, and when his majestie sate vpon his throne, on a high scaffold with a crowne on his head, we did our homage to him & then wee kissed hym. I thank god I am now growen againe in extraordinary favor with the Duke of Buckingham."—*MSS. of Miss C. Griffiths, App. to 5th Rep.*, 411.

The Duke of Buckingham was then at the height of his power. So evidently thought the, "Busshop," whose ideas respecting the relative powers of the Almighty and Buckingham may be inferred from the fact that he began the word God with a small g, but the words Duke and Buckingham with capital letters.

This may be a fitting place to introduce a much

longer letter describing a coronation which took place nearly two hundred years later.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER, FROM "MARY HOPE JOHNSTONE[1] TO HER FATHER, VICE ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM JOHNSTONE HOPE, K.C.B., LONDON, 22 JULY, 1821, DESCRIBING THE CORONATION OF KING GEORGE THE FOURTH."

"My dear Papa, . . . At 12 [midnight] I was roused completely by bells ringing, guns firing, carriages rolling & every outrageous noise that could indicate London gone mad. Began to dress & breakfasted at ½ past two . . . on mutton chops. . . . Off we sett to Somerset House & found the Strand line of carriages begun opposite the entrance."

She went by water with the Northesks[2] in Sir B. Martin's boat.

"The morning was beautifull, & our silver shone most brightly under the rising sun. We landed at the Speaker's stairs, & met Lord Sidmouth, who directed us through hundreds of lounging, half sleeping souldiers, who not being yet on active duty, looked like the dead and dying after some great conflict, having been there from 11 the night before. . . . By 5 we were in the Abbey, & the procession did not move till 10. Quantities of friends came in during that time, but I could not get near one &

[1] Nineteen years later she married Hugh Percy, Bishop of Carlisle, brother of the fifth Duke of Northumberland.

[2] Lord Northesk was, like her father, a distinguished Admiral.

amused myself with a beautiful little boy of eight years old in full court suit, with a sword & chapeau bras much larger than himself."

The procession did not enter the Abbey until eleven. "The King under a splendid canopy of cloth of gold, himself clothed in gold from head to foot, with a train of superb crimson velvet embroidered all over in masses of gold so long & heavy that the pages had to bear it on their shoulders; his hat of black velvet, *a la* Henri 4th, with splendid plume of white feathers, the pages habited in white satin & silver, with slashings of pale blue satin & a little mantle of the same, of which the most beautifull was Lord Tyrone,[1] Lord Waterford's son. . . . I can give no idea of the scene at the moment the King entered the Abbey, the whole choir singing the Hallelujah Chorus, which, with the drums, trumpets, & guns outside, were completely drowned by the shouts of enthusiasm from every corner of the Abbey, princes & people. The King was deeply affected. . . . The acclamations continued unbounded to the indecorous interruption of the service, particularly when the Archbishop of Canterbury read the Recognition & the Anthem of May the King live for ever—it produced an effect upon every creature beyond description, ladies waving handkerchiefs, knights caps & peers coronets, all waving in the

[1] Henry de la Poer, afterwards third Marquess. This was the well-known Marquess of Waterford, who was killed by a fall from his horse in 1859.

air amidst thunderings of God bless the King—our friend of Clarence's batton flying far above every one else, & the *Duke of Gloucester alone not moving*. . . . The most touching scene was the homages & affected everybody beyond description. When the Duke of York[1] went up & gave the fraternal embrace, which appeared from both with hearts of the profoundest affection, the King laid his head completely on the kneeling Duke's shoulder for fully three minutes, grasping his hand. When they rose, the faces of both were in a state of tears & agitation quite dreadfull, & on the King's part almost alarming, but a few minutes took it off; & tho' he received both Cambridge & Clarence[2] with marked affection, there was not the same profound emotion as with the Duke of York."

When the function in the Abbey was over, the writer and her friends went to Westminster Hall, where they "got very excellent places in front of the gallery & saw the procession move in beautifull order. . . . The galleries blazing with jewels & bright with silver, gold, & all shining ornaments; the sun shining brightly, & millions of gilded lamps and candles which gave the whole a soft glittering appearance beyond description in richness & effect; the tables for the banquet loaded with superb ornaments, & the quantities of massive gold plate decorating the royal table & side board; while moving up the

[1] Frederick, Duke of York, who died six years later.
[2] Afterwards King William IV.

centre of the hall was one congregated mass of gorgeous magnificence."

It was now seven o'clock, and the King retired till eight. Meanwhile the courtiers walked about, and the writer of the letter got a glass of champagne, the first thing that had passed between her lips since two in the morning.

On the return of the King, "came Lords Howard, Anglesea, & Wellington on horseback to announce dinner, the gentlemen pensioners, 30 in number, bearing the golden dishes of meat just behind them & passing up between them in two rows to the royal table, where the clerk of the kitchen placed them on the table. . . . The horses then retreated backwards . . . and beautifully it was done by both Lord Wellington & Anglesea, but Howard was in a great fright, pulled the horse (Astley's) by the curb so tight, that in revenge he gave sundry very pretty plunges, the noble lord swearing like a trooper. The doors were again shut, & the dinner went on, but *all the spoons* were forgotten, & as the King eat only soup,[1] he did not like the delay. That course ended & carried off in the same style, presently was heard a loud electrifying blast of the trumpet & a loud knocking at the gate which announced the champion.[2] . . . He entered a few paces within the hall, & the challenge being read, threw down the

[1] Possibly he may have dined in comfort during his hour of retirement between seven and eight.

[2] Dymoke of Tetford.

gauntlet with an air of most determined unquestionable defiance which every creature echoed as perfect . . . himself looking so fierce & austre that I scarcely knew him for the same man Sir Pulteney [Johnstone] had taken me to see practise his horse 2 days before."

The gauntlet was returned, and the same ceremony was repeated at the steps of the throne. The King then drank the champion's health out of "a beautifull massive gold cup & cover of antique form," which was then handed to the champion, who, after shouting loudly "long live his Majesty King George the Fourth," drank off the remainder of its contents. "I never saw any one so enchanted as his majesty." The champion then "retired backing his horse with one hand only, & the cup in the other, & went almost by a thread so straight, notwithstanding the kicking & plunging of my Lord Howard's ill-managed steed, which with its ample tail nearly swept some of the gentlemen pensioners off the land of the living."

Various ceremonies followed. "I saw the Duke of Athol with his falcons on his arm, attended by his principle (*sic*) falconer, & about ½ past 8 the King rose to retire amid shouts that shook the very foundation."

As the King only took some soup and so much was done between eight and half past, the dinner itself must have been a mere form. It is quite a relief to read that, at last, after being without food for eighteen hours and a half, the writer of the letter "got

something to eat." But, in spite of her long fast, her energies were by no means exhausted. "At 10 I was home, & putting a pellisse over the remains of my tattered & torn finery, took Mrs. S. and Miss Hope to see the fireworks in the Park & various illuminations which were beautifull. We drove till after 12, after which I slept for 15 hours so profoundly that I never fancied I had been asleep!! but still was dreadfully tired. I instantly went to inquire for my friends & found all well except Lady Hampden, who had erisipelas in her ankle with pure fatigue, & to my amazement Lord Hampden[1] as brisk as possible & laughing at her for being worse."

The attempt of the separated, though not divorced, Queen Catherine, to enter the Abbey and claim to be crowned with her husband, is a matter of history; but the following details, in the letter from which we are quoting, may possibly not prove uninteresting. The King had been, at the beginning of the coronation service, "evidently depressed, & I should almost say, apparently apprehensive, which we fancy was the knowledge of the queen's intention; for the moment it was known & communicated to him that she had been, & no one caring for her coming & going, his spirits rose & he appeared a different man even in his walk, tho after so much additional fatigue. She [the Queen] was fairly 5 or 6 steps into the Abbey alone, but took fright & said she must have her attendants. With only one ticket among nine,

[1] He was then aged 72. He died three years later.

Lord Hoods', there was no chance of this; the door-keepers were all respectful but determined, so after 3 attempts at the Abbey she went to the Hall & tried with equal success, 4 different doors, ending with the great entrance, where she asked a common soldier if he had orders to keep her out. He said he had not, true enough. Upon this the King's immense porter snatched the musquet, saying, 'If you have not, I have, & there is no entrance for you Madam, here or in any palace of my Royal Master.' She gave a sort of hysterical laugh & sent for Lord Gwydir & put the question to him. His reply was, 'If you do not instantly retire I must exercise against your Majesty the force with which I am authorised.' Lord Howard's words were nearly the same (and pretty strong for two peers who voted for her last year!). Her rage was dreadfull, she knocked the baton out of the hand of one of the constables ordered to see her to her carriage, & several gentlemen told me (who attended her in her various trials for entrance to see what she would do) that her language & swearing were so dreadfull they could not repeat it—the mob returning it & always ending with 'Go to Como, Go to Como.' About 200 of her friends *did* get within the first barrier of the Abbey, which for a few moments made it unpleasant, but the number of military was effectual, one of whom was stabbed in the thigh."

The writer then notices that two sudden deaths took place during the ceremony in the Abbey.

Lord Anglesea had lost a leg, owing to a wound which he had received in the knee at the battle of Waterloo, and he appears to have had two wooden legs, one for walking with, and one for riding. "In the Hall the high Stewart Lord Anglesea fancied his duty done when the dinner was on the table & did not return, so a herald was sent to say his Majesty could not dine till he came & took the covers off, when Lord Anglesea was in great distress, not being allowed to ride except in announcing dinner, & as he said, 'unable to walk with *his riding leg on*,' which caused a great laugh. So he had to be much supported but got along very well, tho' much more lame than usual."

Miss Hope Johnstone fared better in leaving Westminster Hall than many others; "for there were 2,000 ladies & gentlemen sleeping on the benches of the House of Lords at 6 o'clock on Friday morning. Five hundred carriages never got up to the Abbey or Hall to bring home the mistresses, & were seen standing in a string from Hyde Park corner, with many of the horses taken off & feeding at the side of the street & the servants asleep on the pavement. Frederick Hope took charge of Miss Kinnaird till 2, but grew too sleepy for further use, so a peer proposed they should repose together as his robe was large enough to cover both, & they slept for two hours, Frederick's cocked hat serving as a pillow to a lady reposing at their feet. Imagine the scene, the robed peers & feathered ladies all

sprawling promiscuously on the benches, floor, steps of the throne in a sleep so profound as if they were enchanted."

Presently she adds: "I forgot an incident that caused much commotion at the banquet. Glengarry, in full Highland garb, getting into the peeresses' box & exclaiming 'he was defrauded of his rights in the refusal of some title,' drew from his belt a pistol & pointed it at the king. The horror it caused you cannot imagine. He was immediately pinnioned & carried out by six constables. They found the pistols unloaded, but the circumstance was unpleasant and improper. Walter Scott seemed enchanted with the whole scene, & is the only person who can describe it. I hope he will, &c."—*MSS. of J. J. Hope Johnstone of Annandale*, 15*th Rep., App., Part IX.*, 132-36.

Concerning foreign Courts little will be quoted here; but a few extracts shall be given from a gossipy journal.

FROM THE JOURNALS OF MARIA,[1] WIFE OF JOHN, 3RD EARL OF CLARENDON, IN THE YEARS 1791-3.

"Paris. Went to the Tuilleries to see the King & Queen[2] at dinner. . . . The King struck me as having some resemblance to Lord Macartney, the Queen

[1] Maria Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of Admiral, the Hon. John Forbes. As she married Lord Clarendon in 1791, the first entries may have been made on her wedding tour.

[2] Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, both so shortly afterwards guillotined.

was not so fat as I expected, but to me she has no beauty nor any traces left to make one suppose she ever had much; she is tall & has much dignity in her carriage."

"Rome. . . . In the evening we went to Cardinal Bernis' where the Mesdames received company. Mme. Victoire is fat, & in her manners & appearance a country gentlewoman; the youngest, Madame Adelaide, is short & fat, she does not possess any more than her sister *l'air noble*, though both look like two good old housekeepers. . . . Madame de Pondoise a chanoinesse who has a tender friendship for the Prince Camille & does the honour of his house, her beauties are entirely internal or at least invisible. . . . The Duke of FitzJames a *bon vivant* who loves the pleasures of this world in all their branches. . . . The Marquis de Coigny is affectation personified & a strolling actor in appearance, for further particulars vide Shakespeare's courtier as described by Hotspur."

The next extract was written in 1802-3, during the Consulate.

"Paris. . . . Bonaparte came out of the centre door of the Tuilleries & mounted his horse, where a large cortege of General Officers & Aide-de-camps were ready to attend him. Bonaparte was dressed in a plain blue coat & plain hat without lace or feather, he rode a white long-tailed horse; the plainness of his dress was evidently for effect, for his attendants were in their uniforms, both in

their own dress & the accoutrements of their horses they were as magnificent as possible. . . . His outline of face has a great resemblance to Kemble the actor in minature, his stature is very low and his figure has no air or distinction. His best appearance is when on horseback, his features are regular & he has a pleasing expression about his mouth, with small eyes very hollow in his head."

Of an audience from Napoleon, she says :—

"The Emperor was standing in a small room by himself, his manners are shy without being cold, he is little & insignificant in his appearance but not unpleasing, he talked to us for about ten minutes & then bowed, when we retired. . . . The Empress . . . is short, pale, & very plain, but her manners are lively & she has a good deal of address."

"The Grand Duke Constantine . . . has an ugly fat face & his figure is bad, & by all accounts his mind corresponds with his person."—*MSS. of the Earl of Westmorland*, 10*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IV.*, 53-55.

Before dismissing the subject of Courts we will return to the Court of Charles I., and look at his bills-of-fare for a dinner and a supper.

FROM THE "TABLE & CELLAR BOOK OF CHARLES I., OXFORD, A.D. 1643-1644."

"Thursday, The First of February, 1643.

Dynn^r.		*Supper.*	
Multon Veale	bo. [boiled]	Multon Veale	bo.

Dynnr.	*Supper.*
Multon, Veale } ro. [roasted]	Multon, Veale } ro.
Multon bro. [broiled] 1s.	Multon bro. 1sr
Collops, &c. 1s.	Sho : Mult. 1.
Multon ro. 1s.	Sho Mult. 1.
Capons j	Capons j
Pull' gr' ij	Pull' gr'. ij
Hens wth Egs ij	Hens wth Egs ij
Partrigs, ij	Chicknis vj
Phesants, ij	Partrigs, ij
Cockes, ij	Cockes ij
Larkes xviij	Larkes, xviij
Mallards, ij	Mallards ij
Peeches, viij	Multon ro., p. Conies } 1s
p : Pippins, Tarte } ba. [baked]	p : Pippins, Tarte } ba."

—*MSS. of the Marquess of Ormond, New Series, vol. ii.*, 406-10.

It may be noticed that the supper was essentially a dinner. In short it varied very little from the dinner of the same day ; and not only were the menus of the dinners and the suppers, on each of the seven days in the statement, very similar to each other, but so also were the menus of all the days. Every meal invariably began with "Multon and Veale bo. and ro." ; and, with

one single exception, at each meal there were "Larkes xviij"; but what is very remarkable, in this land of roast-beef, is that in the fourteen meals, beef was only put on the table four times, and that it was never roasted, but always boiled. It may be also worthy of notice that fish was only served twice in those fourteen meals, salmon on the first occasion and pike on the second; and that it was not eaten at an early part of the meal, but after the poultry and game, in fact immediately after the "Larkes xviij," and just before the sweets. Neither bacon, nor ham, nor pig in any form, appeared at any of these repasts.

In the next extract, on the other hand, a flitch of bacon figures with considerable pomp and ceremony.

EXTRACTS FROM A MS. OF DUGDALE, TAKEN FROM A PARCHMENT ROLL, TEMP. EDW. III. (1327-77).

"Services which Philip de Somervill is bound to do to his lord the Earl of Lancaster. . . . Sir Philip held of the Lord the manors of . . . at lower reliefs than other tenants; but he was to find and maintain a bacon flitch, hanging in his hall at Whichmoure, ready at all times, except Lent, to be given to every man or woman, married, after the day & year of their marriage passed, & to be given to every man of religion, archbishop, bishop, prior, or other religious, & every priest after end of a year & day

from the time of profession, or dignity received. . . . The demandant was to come with trumps, tabors, & other manner of minstrelsy. The bacon was laid on one half quarter of wheat, & upon another of rye. The demandant was to kneel & take oath that since his marriage he would not have changed, & that if he were sole & she sole, he would take her; & his neighbours are to swear that they think he says true."—*MSS. of F. Bacon Frank, App. to 6th Rep.*, 454.

In sixteenth and seventeenth century account-books, it looks as if most articles of food were much cheaper than they are now, but the case is altered when one takes into account the different values of money. When this allowance is made, a very curious instance to the contrary in the case of lemons,[1] in 1600, becomes more striking than at first sight.

ROBERT MONTAGU TO HIS BROTHER, SIR EDWARD.

1600, June 8. "Sends four lemons, which were all he could get, & which, though but little, cost 4s." (Summary of letter).—*Lord Montagu of Beaulieu's MSS.*, 28.

Turning our attention from meats to drinks, we find a remarkable theory propounded in relation to the latter.

[1] According to Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*, lemons were first introduced into England in 1554.

1669, Aug. 21. (Indorsed, Mr. Henshaw's Letter) to Sir Robert Paston.

"Sir Will. Buckhouse is so ill, . . . one of his doctors told me yesterday that there was no manner of hope. . . . I have been taught that Jupiter allows every man who comes into the world a different proportion of drink, which, when he has despatched, there remains nothing for him but to die; & that the proportion & expedition makes great difference in men's ages."—*MSS. of Sir H. Ingilby, Bart., App. to 6th Rep.*, 366.

Every connoisseur of choice wines will read the next letter with tears. The writer having been an Archbishop adds unction to the sad story.

The Primate, Dr. George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh, to Lord George Sackville.[1]

"1751, May 18. From your lodgings at the Castle. I have tasted all the different wines & find to my great concern that there is nothing but the claret which can be made to answer any purpose. Of the two sorts of champagnes, that sealed with yellow wax might go off at balls, if there were a better kind for select meetings. The red wax is too bad for an election dinner at Dover. The four parcels of Burgundy are almost equally bad. If there is any difference, that sealed with black wax & falsely & impudently called Vin de Beaune is the worst, & is indeed as bad as the worst tavern could afford; but I am sure that no person will ever

[1] Third son of Lionel, First Duke of Dorset.

drink a second glass of either. I know how unhappy his grace & you would be to see the tables so provided. What can be done I know not. . . . The claret called Chateau Margoux is excellently good; the La Tour very good; but the smallness of the bottles (though a trifling circumstance compared with the others) is so remarkable that I am very apt to conclude the whole business has been dishonestly transacted, & I am confident that not a drop of the wine so called was ever in the province of Burgundy. The melancholy operation of tasting was performed at my house yesterday. General Bragge, & eight or nine more, & most nearly related to the family, were present & agree to this sentence in the utmost extent. To prevent as far as I could any fancy or prejudice I slipt in a bottle of my own Burgundy, & they all cried out, 'This will do.' I would not have you persuaded that the fault is from want of keeping or from having been disturbed in the passage. If I have any knowledge, the wine is fundamentally bad. It is a vile infamous mixture & can never be better."—*Mrs. Stopford Sackville's MSS.*, *I.*, 170-71.

If our ancestors were not over-eating or over-drinking themselves, they would appear to have been over-physicing themselves. A "mineral water habit," corresponding to a cocaine or morphia habit, has not yet become prevalent, but something akin to it, to judge from the following one of many instances, seems to have obtained among our ancestors:—

1703, JUNE 23, BATH. LADY MARY COKE TO THOMAS COKE, M.P.

"This morning as I was dressing I began to have colic: & though I had taken a quart of water at 7 in the morning, & this began at 11, I sent for two quarts more, & drank them off as fast as I could, & I thank God it put off the fit. I hope it will do me no hurt."

SAME TO THE SAME, JUNE 26.

"I writ you word how I had tried last Wednesday, in a fit, two quarts of these waters besides the first I had taken in the morning. It put off the fit, but at night it began to return, though very gently: though for fear of the worst I took ten drops of my laudanum, & I thank God since I have continued pretty well. . . . Since this was begun a fit of the colic has taken me, at first pretty severely, but taking one quart of the water, thank God, it went off in an hour & a half."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. iii.*, 24-25.

To what a variety of evils our frail flesh is heir!

THE COUNTESS FERRERE TO THE HON. MRS. SHIRLEY.

"[1714], July 27. . . . Ld. Wamouth is very ill y^{d} think he wont livve he hiccups so eveery night you can [hear] him two or three Rooms of. . . . My Lord has the gout in his grate towe."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Townshend, 11th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 225.

It is quite a relief to read that our forefathers occasionally varied potent physics with iron and quinine.

1703, JUNE 30. EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO THOMAS COKE.

". . . I have found great benefit by Dr. Coke's assistance, & by entering into a course of steel, for it has almost taken away all my yellowness."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. iii.*, 25.

If medicines were taken at all, some two hundred years ago, they were generally taken in very substantial doses, and it is probable that Alice Coke was over-dosed with quinine. Quite moderate doses of quinine do not agree with everybody, even in our own times.

1710, AUG. 30. ELIZ. COKE TO [VICE CHAMBERLAIN COKE.]

"My sister Alice feverish disorder continues, & I cannot say I am quite without fear by reason she cannot bear the taking the Jesuit's bark."—*Ibid.*, 95.

People are apt to look upon the lady-doctor as a new-fangled innovation of late and evil days. They may be surprised to find a statement in her favour in a letter written nearly a hundred and fifty years ago; and by a male M.D. too!

1765, SEP. 26. SIR GEORGE BAKER, M.D., TO EDWARD WESTON, FROM JERMYN STREET.

". . . Ladies have certainly a title to the practise of Physic founded on antiquity. The first Men-Physicians only took care of wounds. Internal remedies were wholly in the hands of the fair sex

This I prove from Homer & other antient writers."—*MSS. of C. F. Weston Underwood*, 396.

Although there is much about meats, drinks, and medicines in the *Reports*, there is more about clothes; but only from three papers on that subject shall quotations be made here.

1605, Oct. 30, Preston. Mary Coke[1] to John Coke.[2]

"To my loving Husband John Coke give this. I sent a short notice to you this week mentioning the receipt of your letters & things sent by Dobs, the carrier, which now I may show more plainly that he sent the wicker basket hither to the house on Wednesday after you despatched from thence. My gown & hat I like very well, & they are very fit for me, but considering our foul & dirty weather though my walks be very few I am loath to carry so much gold at my skirt into the dirt about the house which maketh me wear my gown seldomer than I would do. I do acknowledge your kindness & care in sending it so quickly & getting it so well made. . . . Now I am speaking of these things I may tell you that you need buy no cradle for I am told that I may have one here within 4 or 5 miles."—*MSS. of the Earl Cowper, vol. i.*, 58.

[1] Daughter of John Powell, an agent of Sir Fulke Grevyl.

[2] Afterwards Secretary of State. In 1605 he was living in Herefordshire, at Hall Court, Much Marcle; but he made periodical visits to London. See vol. quoted, p. iv.

We sometimes grumble at our tailors putting down extra details in our bills, such as silk linings for our coats, &c. ; but that practice has ancient precedence ; for look at this :—

1625. To Sir John Coke, Knight, etc.

"The 26 Dec. 1625 for a fugar satin suit & hanging sleeves to it. Imprimis canvas for straight linings.

"Item, fine white baize to stiffen the bodice.

"Item, belly-pieces, stiffenings of buckram & powldaure.

"Item, 2 yards ½ russet fustian to go under skirt & wearing sleeves.

"Item, 5 dozen of buttons for breast & collar & sleeves.

"Item, 1 gross 8 dozen of large buttons for hanging sleeves and hose.

"Item, 1 ounce ½ loop lace for hanging sleeves & collar.

"Item, 4 yards ¼ of homes[pun?] fustian to line the hose for pockets.

"Item, fine dutch baize to go on the outside of the hose.

"Item, fine buckram to border the hanging sleeves.

"Item, Ribbon for the waist.

"Item, 3 yards ½ of Gd. Ribbon for the knees.

"Item, 1 yard ⅛ of scarlet baize to line the doublet.

"Item, silk to make up the suit.

"Item, pinking & prinking in it.

"Item, making the suit.

"Item, 2 dozen of drum points ½′ long.

"Item, 1 embroidered girdle.

"Item, 1 yard of baize to keep suit in."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. i.*, 246.

Considering the number of items, the price—"Sum total is four pounds four shillings and sevenpence"—does not look very large; but, when allowance is made for the difference in the value of money in those days from that in these, it must have been a substantial amount; probably about £20.

We now come to a proof that ladies criticised each other's clothes in the seventeenth century, much as they do in the twentieth, if in inferior spelling.

BRIDGET NOEL TO HER SISTER, THE COUNTESS OF RUTLAND.

"[1686, May or June.] My Lady Gansbourer meet us at Burley, but in sutch a dres as I never saw without disput. Her iengan manto is the worst of the kind, it is purpel, & a great dell of green, & a letel gould, & great flours, ther is som red with the green, and noe lining, which luks a bomenable. . . . Mr. May is deed or a diying. He goot a fall of is hors."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. ii.*, 12*th Rep., App., Part V.*, 109.

Having noticed the necessities of life—food, raiment and remedies, we will produce a little evidence about the arts and pleasures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

We need no longer wonder at the appalling representations of some of our ancestors, after reading that, when they wanted to be immortalised on canvas, they were dependent upon any journeyman painter able to "draughe a pictuer," who happened to go into "thos parts."[1]

1615, JUNE 10. ANNE,[2] COUNTESS OF DORSET TO THE COUNTESS OF CUMBERLAND. LADY CUMBERLAND WAS HER MOTHER.

"I have sent you by Rafe my pictuer don in litell, which some sayes is verey like mee, & others sayes it dothe mee rather ronge then flatters mee, I knoe you will excepte the shodoe of her hous sobstance is com from yourselfe. I hope you will requite mee with the same kindnes & lett me have yours when ether you come upe to London or when so ever aney that can draughe a pictuer comes in to thos parts wher nou you ar."—*MSS. of Lord Hothfield*, 11*th Rep., App., Part VII.*, 83.

Here will be found some interesting evidence about the prices charged by Kneller. Lady Elizabeth Cromwell seems to have patronised him very liberally.

[1] The practice survived, as readers of the *Vicar of Wakefield* will remember, to a period later than that of the extract. "My wife and daughters happening to visit at neighbour Flamborough's, found that family had lately got their pictures drawn by a limner, who travelled the country and took likenesses for fifteen shillings a head."—*Vicar of Wakefield*, cap. xvi.

[2] Sole heiress of George (Clifford) 3rd Earl of Cumberland, an eminent naval commander, but a very unfaithful husband, and a spendthrift.

PRICES OF PICTURES SOLD BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER TO LADY ELIZABETH CROMWELL, AND PAID FOR JUNE 5, 1703.

"Ld. Essexes picture, whole length £30; Ld. Edward's picture, whole length £30; Ld. Vere's picture, whole length £30; A Diana, whole length £50; For Mr. Hamilton, a ½ length £30; For Mr. Price, a ½ length £30; Mr. FitzHerbert & his wife 2½ lengths £30; Ld. Thomas, a ½ length £15; Mrs. Port, a ½ length £15; for Mrs. Hill, a head £15; A Devout Head £15; a monk £15; a Cecilia for Mr. Congreve £45; a landskip with bowar £20; a coppy for Mrs. Southwell £10."—*MSS. of Alfred Robinson, App. to 9th Rep.*, 467.

We come now to a letter from a gifted amateur in "watter coler" drawing.

[1714?], OCT. 2ND. LADY BARBARA SHIRLEY TO THE HON. MRS. SHIRLEY.

"I desir y[u] will buy me a set of watter colers,[1] & six littel french cutts, & two or three Ivery plates: by this y[u] will see how I entend to employ my self; I have made some efortes at it already; but my Colers are very bad & I make but sad dabe of it yet."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Townshend, 11th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 229.

[1] Although painting in water colours is far more ancient than painting in oils, water-colour painting in the modern sense of the word was very elementary in 1714. Paul Sandby (born in 1725 and died in 1809) is generally considered the father of the English school of water-colour drawing.

Among the Belvoir Castle MSS. are many letters from Sir Joshua Reynolds to the Duke of Rutland, who evidently bought pictures on the advice of that great artist.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS TO THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.

"1785, May 30, London. . . . The picture of Rubens' wife was sold at a greater price than it was worth. It was not one of Rubens' best works, & there was a separation of the pannel on which it was painted, which had been ill mended. . . . I don't know how to give a description of my Venus, as it is called; it is no more than a naked woman sitting on the ground leaning her back against a tree, & a boy peeping behind another tree. I have made the landskip as well as I could in the manner of Titian. Though it meets with the approbation of my friends, it is not what it ought to be, nor what I should make it. The next I paint I am confident will be better."

In a letter dated "1785, July 20, Leicester Fields," Sir Joshua complains that the salary of "King's Painter" has been reduced from £200 to £50 a year. Sir Joshua "was the first person in that place who had their (*sic*) salary reduced to a fourth part." As some compensation, he hopes that the Duke will ask Mr. Pitt to give him the appointment of "secretary & register to the Order of the Bath," which was worth £300 a year.

"1785, July 19, London. I set out to-morrow morning for Brussels. . . . I have but just received a catalogue of the pictures which are now on view at Brussels. The Emperor has suppressed sixty-six religious houses, the pictures of which are to be sold by auction. Le Comte de Kageneck informs me the Emperor has selected for himself some of the principal pictures; however, there is one altar-piece which belonged to the Convent of the *Dames Blanches* at Lovain, which is to be sold. The subject is the Adoration of the Magi, ten feet by seven feet eight inches, which I take to be about the size of your picture of Rubens. . . . This picture, I suspect, is the only one worth purchasing if your Grace has any such intention, or will honour me with discretionary orders in regard to other pictures. . . . The principal object of my journey is to re-examine & leave a commission for a picture of Rubens of a St. Justus—a figure with his head in his hands after it had been cut off—as I wish to have it for the excellency of its painting; the oddness of the subject will, I hope, make it cheap. Whether it will be a bargain or not I am resolved to have it at any rate."

"1785, Aug. 22, London. . . . I was much disappointed in the pictures of the suppressed religious houses; they are the saddest trash that ever were collected together. The Adoration of the Magi, & St. Justus, by Rubens, & a Crucifixion by Vandyck, were the only tolerable pictures, but these are not the best of those masters. I did not like St.

Justus as well [as] I did before, but I think of sending a small commission for it; the two others I dare say will not go to above £200 each. . . . I was shown some of the pictures which were reserved by the Emperor, which were not a jota better than the common run of the rest of the collection.

"Though I was disappointed in the object of my journey, I have made some considerable purchases from private collections. I have bought a very capital picture of Rubens of Hercules & Omphale, a composition of seven or eight figures, perfectly preserved, & as bright as colouring can be carried. The figures are rather less than life. . . . I have likewise a Holy Family, a Silenus & Baccanalians, & two portraits, all by Rubens. I have a Virgin & Infant Christ & two portraits by Vandyck, & two of the best hunting of wild beasts, by Snyders & De Vos, that I ever saw."

"1785, Sept. 22, London. I am sorry to acquaint your Grace that there is nothing bought at the sale. I have enclosed Mr. Gree's letter, by which it appears they went much above even the commission you wished me to send. I cannot think that either the Rubens or Vandyck were worth half the mony they sold for. The Vandyck was an immense picture very scantily filled; it had more defects than beauties, & as to the Rubens, I think your Grace's is worth a hundred of them."

"1785, Sep. 26, London. Immediately on the receipt of your Grace's letter I wrote to Mr. De

Gree to make enquiry to whom the pictures were sold, & whether they would part with them at a certain profit; at the same time, I am confident if your Grace saw them you would not be very anxious about possessing them. The Poussins are a real national object & I rejoice to hear that the scheme of their coming to England is in such forwardness."

The purchase of these Poussins appears to have been entrusted to an agent in Rome, a certain James Byres, whose letter would have a curious look if one did not know that it is about pictures.

JAMES BYRES TO THE ———.

"1785, Nov. 12, Rome. The Seven Sacraments are now all in my possession, &, as I mentioned to you in my letter of Aug. 24, in much better preservation than I had imagined, their apparent huskiness principally proceeding from the quantity of white of egg that was upon them, which I have washed off with a sponge & water. As far as I can perceive they have never been cleaned, &c."

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS TO THE DUKE.

"1786, Sep. 7, London. I have the pleasure to acquaint your Grace that the pictures are arrived safe in Leicester Fields. I hang over them all day, & have examined every picture with the greatest accuracy. I think, upon the whole, that this must be considered as the greatest work of Poussin, who was certainly one of the greatest painters that ever lived.

"I must mention, at the same time, that (except to the eye of an artist, who has the habit of seeing through dirt) they have a most unpromising appearance, being incrusted with dirt. There are likewise two or three holes, which may be easily mended when the pictures are lined. Excepting this, which is scarcely worth mentioning, they are in perfect condition. They are just as Poussine left them. I believe they have never been washed or vanished (*sic*) since his time. It is very rare to see a picture of Poussine, or, indeed, of any great painter that has not been defaced in some part or rather (*sic*), & mended by picture cleaners, & have been reduced by that means to half their value.

"I expected but seven pictures, but there are eight. The sacriment of Baptism is represented by Christ baptising St. John, but that picture, which does not seem to belong to the sett (though equally excellent with the rest), is St. John baptising the multitude.

"I calculate that those pictures will cost your Grace 250 guineas each. I think they are worth double the money.

"A few evenings since I met Lord Besborough at Brook's. I told him of the arrival of the pictures, & asked him (as he remembered them very well) what he thought they might be worth. He said they would be cheap at six thousand pounds.

"I think Mr. Beyers did very well to get them out of Rome, which is now much poorer, as England is richer than it was, by this acquisition."

Sir Joshua then says that he has bought a statue of Neptune and a Triton "which was a fountain in the Villa Negroni (formerly Montaldo). It is near eight feet high, & is reckoned Bernini's greatest work. It will cost me about 700 guineas before I get possession of it. I buy it on speculation, & hope to be able to sell it for a thousand.

"The Boccapaduli Palace was visited by all foreigners, merely for the sake of those pictures by Poussine, for I do not remember there were any others of any kind. Those Sacriments[1] are much superior to those in the Orleans collection, which I thought were but feebly painted, tho equally excellent in invention."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. iii.*, 14*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part I.*, 211-12, 227-28, 234-35, 242, 244, 258, 343.

The next letter, which is from the already mentioned James Byres, relates to the same pictures by Poussin. The difficulty of getting important pictures out of Rome is nearly as great now as it was then.

JAMES BYRES TO [THE BISHOP OF KILLALA].

"1786, June 14. . . . Being in possession of the seven pictures, I had them carefully packed & sent the case to Leghorn. . . . This transaction being

[1] The first series of the Seven Sacraments, now at Belvoir Castle, were painted for Cassiano del Pozzo. The second series of the Seven Sacraments, now in the Bridgewater Gallery, were painted for De Chauteloup.

now finished, I must beg the favour of your Lordship to recommend his Grace that it should never be mentioned through whose hands he got them, for my name being mentioned might be attended with the worst consequences to me here, where we live under a despotic government who are more jealous than ever of things going out of Rome."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, *vol. iii.*, 14*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part I.*, 310.

Undoubtedly artists charge more for painting portraits now than they did early in the last century; but in 1818 Raeburn charged 140 guineas, as may be seen by a letter which he wrote to George Home of Paxton about a portrait which he had painted of Sir David Milne at Home's order.

"Edinburgh, 17 March, 1818. . . . The picture itself is 140 guineas, & the frame & case, altho' I do not yet know precisely the amount, yet I do not think they will be much under 30 guineas."—*MSS. of Colonel David Milne Home*, 145, No. 300.

Judging from the high price of the frame, one would suppose this picture to have been a full-length portrait.

Here are a few notices of names celebrated in the artistic, literary, and scientific world on the continent:—

FROM THE JOURNALS[1] OF MARIA, WIFE OF JOHN, 3RD EARL OF CLARENDON, 1802-3.

"Geneva. Went to visit Madame de Stael. . . . Madame de Stael is very clever, an authoress, very ugly, & very free & good humoured, but she astonished me with her curiosity & questions which often went to the most trifling subjects, which reached to every subject the most private in one's situation, circumstances &c."

"Geneva." . . . Mentions Monsieur Lavater the physiognomist. "He is a thin man of 50, & has a great deal of vivacity & expression in his eyes. . . . Mr Lavater is respected and adored as a pastor & has a most astonishing eloquence in the pulpit, he has a living at Zuie of about £150 a year."

"Paris. We went in the evening to the Buffa Opera, Madame Tallien was at the Opera; she made too conspicuous a figure in the Revolution not to excite curiosity in those who had not seen her. The expression of her countenance is particularly cheerful & good humoured; her features are small & regular, she is very pale, white with dark hair & eyes, her person has grown too fat & out of shape, her hands & arms are very handsome. . . . Her disposition to gallantry would exclude her from being received in good society."

"We ended the morning at David's. . . . David is esteemed the best existing painter at Paris, he has

[1] Quotations have already been made from this journal.

been an active person in the Revolution, after having owed his first success to the Court, & he is said to have committed some of the most atrocious acts of any of the monsters of the Revolution. He is in person the most frightful of men."—*MSS. of the Earl of Westmorland*, 10*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IV.*, 53-55.

About music the notices in the Reports are remarkably few.

Here are two very different estimates of Handel in letters from different writers, apparently to the same correspondent, a Mrs. Catherine Collingwood, a lady who is frequently addressed in this series of letters as "My dear Cauliflower."

"Dec. 27, 1734. . . . I don't pity Handell in the least, for I hope this mortification will make him a human creature; for I am sure before he was no better than a brute, when he could treat civilized people with so much brutality, as I know he has done."

"Feb. 19, 1736-37. . . . Partys run high in musick, as when you shone among us. Mr. Handel has not due honour done him, & I am excessively angry about it, which you know is of vast consequence."—*MSS. of Sir W. Throckmorton*, *App. to* 3*rd Rep.*, 257.

Lovers of sweet song may be gratified by reading how the "Sang Scule" at Edinburgh was to be improved.

"A gift under the Privy Seal by James VI. [of Scotland & I. of England] to David Cuming, Master

of the Sang Scule of the burgh of Edinburgh, narrating that his Majesty,"

"understanding the art of musick to be neglectit & to becum almaist in decay within our realme, we not willing it sa to be, but rather the science thereof to be followit, & the followiris to be sustenit upoun the foundatiounis of colleges & levingis as wer erectit & dotit for uphalding thairof, & remembering how that laitlie for the better mantening & setting fordward of the said airt, & of sic as will giff thair diligence and travellis thairin in tyme cuming, we maid & constitut our louit David Cuming, now maister of the Sang Scule of our burgh of Edinburgh, being ane actual teichar of the said airt & expert thairin &c."

He then proceeds to confer "that prebendary callit Byte tercius" upon David Cuming, having taken it away from one, William Barbour, "he not being ane scollare, noyther using the musick or uthir science, bot ane mareit man awaitand upon secular effairis and sa unhabill to brouk the said prebendarie."—*MSS. of the Marquis of Bute, App. to 3rd Rep.*, 403.

Crossing over from Scotland to Ireland, we find a very edifying letter about church music, a century later, from Dean Swift, in reply to a correspondent who had recommended a chorister. After asking some very searching questions concerning the candidate, the Dean writes as follows:—

1719, Feb. 9, Dublin. Letter from Dean Swift.

". . . my quire is so degenerate under the reigns of former Deans of famous memory, that the race of people called Gentlemen Lovers of Musick tell me I must be very carefull in supplying two vacancyes, which I have been two years endeavoring to do. For you are to understand that in disposing these musicall employments, I determine to act directly contrary to Ministers of State, by giving them to those who best deserve. If you had recommended a parson to me for a Church-living in my gift, I would be less curious; because an indifferent Parson may do well enough, if he be honest, but Singers like their brothers the Poets must be very good, or they are good for nothing."—*MSS. of Captain Loder Symonds*, 13*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IV.*, 403-4.

Dancing is not a subject much noticed in the *Reports;* although balls are often mentioned incidentally. Here is an account of "a very good one." Observe that negus seems to have been the principal drink at this and, by inference, at other fashionable Bath balls.

1763. A Letter from a Lady at Bath named A. Hollier to Mrs. Carr, dated 31 Jan., 1763, gives an account of a scene in an assembly room there which, although little creditable to those concerned, would seem of a kind which at that time was not infrequent.

"They say Bath hath been very full this winter, but we have kept snug to our private parties, &

gone very little to the rooms. Indeed, my sister went to the queen's birthday ball at Wiltshire's rooms, which was in general esteemed a very good one; but at the close of it they cooked up a little sort of a riot: for the candles went out before twelve o'clock, the music went off in the middle of a dance, & left the company in the dark, who could by no means get the music again or a replenish of candles, or even a little negus to drink, tho' they could prove the rooms cleared five & forty guineas by the subscription. Upon which one of the gentlemen said, he remembered upon such affronts as these it used to be the custom to break the lustres and glasses; upon which hint there was negus produced in plenty, & the gentlemen threw it all over the room, broke eight bowls, & went off in a rage, swearing there should never be another ball at those rooms; but Wiltshire having made proper submissions they have passed it by, & the balls go on there as usual." —*MSS. of J. R. Carr-Ellison*, 15*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part X.*, 97.

Bath comes in for frequent mention in the *Reports*. So also does its, then, principal rival, Tunbridge Wells. Here are two notices of it, the first by E. Young, the author of *Night Thoughts*, and the other by Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, the author of several books. Both were addressed to the Duchess of Portland:—

"1742, August 1, Tunbridge [Wells]. As this is a place where books are denied us, as unwhole-

some, we must either read human nature, in that pretty edition the good company gives us of it, or read nothing at all. I have read the company over and over, some pages of which were very fair, & delightful, others were sullied, and dogs-eared with the cares & troubles of human life, & contributed more to the prevalence of the spleen, than the waters to the cure of it."—*The Marquis of Bath's MSS., I.*, 272.

[1749?] "November 7, Sandleford. I have been here a month enjoying in tranquility the health I gained at Tunbridge. . . . In a long Tunbridge season, I had such a surfeit of company I was afraid I should have grown a misanthrope. Having long subsisted on the news & chat of the day, no very delicious nor very nourishing fare, I am now amusing myself with the characters of the ancient world. Record has only preserved their great actions & time has obscured the little motives that perhaps gave birth to them. . . . Characters therefore delivered to us in this manner, & seen from such a distance, have their little imperfections rendered invisible, & appear with a dignity & create a respect one is not apt to have for objects with which one is more intimately acquainted."—*Ibid.*, 330.

Even in the reign of Charles I. English invalids, not content with the watering-places of their own country, had begun to go to those on the continent. Not only were the difficulties of transit enormous, but there was also sometimes considerable trouble in obtaining a passport.

1635, JUNE 2. VISCOUNT CHAWORTH[1] TO SIR JOHN COKE, SECRETARY OF STATE.

"If you have not yet His Majesty's directions for freedom of my judgment at law I will beseech you also therewith to procure me His Majesty's pass to the waters of Pougues[2] in France for this season or others if need be, for in truth my wife's old infirmity in her stomach is so much increased of late, & also my own * * *, as I dare not delay seeking those ordinary means which heretofore I have found excellent benefit from. . . . Abroad, I shall not doubt, sir, to gratify you with some occurrents of my pen, which may fall in my way, which may be acceptable to you. But I beseech your Honour (if it may be) I may be allowed in my pass the carrying over six coach horses & three hackney horses for my saddle, with £300 money, because of the present unsettledness of affairs abroad."—*MSS. of the Earl Cowper, K.G., Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire, vol. ii.*, 81.

One of the oldest wells in England, reputed to have healing properties, is that at Buxton. It is frequently mentioned in the *Reports*. The date of the next letter is quite modern for Buxton.

[1] His daughter Elizabeth married the third Lord Byron; and, his male heirs eventually failing, his property centred in Mary Anne Chaworth

"Herself the solitary scion left
Of a time-honoured race,"

celebrated in the poems of Lord Byron, the poet.

[2] Pougues is about 130 miles south of Paris and some 10 miles north of Nevers. "There are mineral springs about a mile from here, with an *Etablissement Thermal*" (Murray's *Guide to France*).

SIR ROBERT CONSTABLE TO THE EARL OF RUTLAND.

"1576, May 25, Berwick. . . . The Lord Regent offered to send to me the best surgeons and physicians in Scotland, but I would have none. When I can get liberty, I mean to go to Buxton."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, 12th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 109.

But ancient as is the reputation of its well, Buxton was very late in growing into a fashionable watering-place.

DIARY OF THE RT. HON. WILLIAMS WINDHAM, JULY 16, 1774.

"Buxton is a small place consisting only I should imagine of fifty or sixty houses which lie at the foot of some hills & make but an inconsiderable appearance."—*MSS. of R. W. Ketton, 12th Rep., App., Part IX.*, 217.

Among British amusements and sports, hunting has ever held a foremost place; but in form it has varied enormously. A stag-hunt in Scotland, early in the seventeenth century, was not at all in accordance with modern ideas of sport.

CONCERNING THE CHARTERS AT INVERCAULD.

"From early times the wilds of Braemar & Glen Dee had been the resort of the Scottish sovereigns for purposes of sport, & the great gatherings of the Earls of Mar were quite on a regal scale. John Taylor, the Water Poet, was present at one of these great huntings in the year 1618, & he has preserved a minute description of it. . . . The company

numbered from fourteen to fifteen hundred men & horses."

"The manner of the hunting," says Taylor, "is this: five or six hundred men doe rise early in the morning, & they doe disperse themselves divers wayes, & seven, eight, or ten miles compasse, they doe chase or bring in the deer in many heards (two, three, or four hundred in a heard) to such or such a place as the noblemen shall appoint them; then when day is come, the lords & gentlemen of their compaines doe ride or goe to the said places, sometimes wading up to the middles in bournes & rivers; & then they being come to the place doe lie down on the ground till those foresaid scouts, which are called the Tinckhell, doe bring down the deer; but as the proverb says of a bad cooke, so these Tinckhell men doe lick their own fingers; for besides their bows & arrows which they carry with them, we can hear now & then a harquebuse or a musquet goe off, which doe seldom discharge in vaine; then after we had stayed three hours or thereabouts, we might perceive the deer appear on the hills round about us (their heads making a shew like a wood) which being followed close by the Tinckhell, are chased down into the valley where we lay; then all the valley on each side being way laid with a hundred couple of strong Irish grey-hounds,[1] they are let loose as occasion serves upon the heard of deere, that with

[1] One owner of a Highland deer-forest still hunts deer with these dogs.

dogs, gunnes, arrows, durks, & daggers, in the space of two hours, four score fat deere were slaine, which after are disposed of some one way & some another, twenty or thirty miles, & more than enough left for us to make merry withall at our rendezvouze. Being come to our lodgings, there was such baking, boyling, rosting, & stewing, as if Cook Ruffian had been there to haue scalded the Devil in his feathers."—*MSS. of Colonel Farquharson, App. to 4th Rep.*, 533.

From the following it would appear that hunting-men of the seventeenth century were not very fond of jumping.

EARL OF ANGLESEA TO ORMOND.

"1663, Sep. 8, London. It[1] is an enclosed country & so not best for hawking or hunting, though passable for both, but there is excellent brook hawking which I think your Grace takes pleasure in."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Ormond, New Series, vol. iii.*, 83.

Long after men have given up hunting, it is a pleasure to them to talk about it; and this fact was evidently proverbial even in the seventeenth century.

1698, NOV. 26. LORD STANHOPE TO THOMAS COKE.

"I think Walker may be allowed to inquire after scandal a little, since he is now like an old foxhunter, who, when past following the sport, yet loves to hear & talk of it. I am sorry his intelligence fails him, but hope his invention may supply that deficiency, or

[1] Moor Park, Ireland.

else his friends will want entertainment & diversion from him."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 381.

We have next an Englishman's account of some hunting on the continent.

1698, October, O.S., Loo. Robert Jennens to Thomas Coke.

"From the day of our coming to our departure we did not miss one day from [some] kind of field sport or another. We began with stag, which hunting the Duke has in the greatest perfection imaginable. He has sixty or eighty couple of hounds; nothing can be stauncher. They are a kind of woodland fox hound, with a great deal of mettle, & drive on a scent very hard. There are vast quantities of woods, but the trees growing at that distance, & no underwood, that it neither hinders the sight, nor running of your hounds or horses. And for that little running we had in the plains, it equals any I ever saw. The only inconvenience is some boar holes; but taking the country altogether, it exceeds Loo,[1] or I believe any other place in the world. We killed in the fortnight we were there seven stags. The country for hare hunting is as good as any other. He has generally out eighty couple of harriers of different tongues, but much the same speed, which make very good music."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 379-80.

[1] He was writing then of Brookhousen.

A pack of eighty couples to hunt a hare sounds prodigious to modern English ears. The hare must have had a very poor chance of escape.

Judging from the following letter, there were many casualties, out hunting, in Staffordshire :—

1698, Dec. 20. Sir Robert Burdet, Bart., to Thomas Coke.

"If you had regarded our sport of hunting I might have told you stories of chases in Staffordshire, & of my misfortunes. The two servants that used to hunt with me are both disabled. At the latter end of a fine chase, I broke the small bones of my grey mare's leg. But the runaway horse carries me bravely with a mere snaffle. I always see sport though to the hazard of my neck, having bruised my shoulder by tumbling over a slough, & venturing drowning the same day, but have many proverbs on my side. These things only prove the tricks of youth. If you hear of a runaway horse, recommend me to him. I love them mightily."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 383.

1698-9, Jan. 22. John Burdet to Thomas Coke.

"I wrote to you before Christmas to give an account of the disposal of your hounds; & also of the ill estate your gelding was in then, but he is very much mended, & in good condition. On Wednesday last, waiting on Madam Bride from Calke towards her new home, on Melburne Com-

mon a boy was running after a fox with a steel trap at her leg, which we soon assisted to catch. Mrs. Renalds I have still in my custody; but for the engine, I broke it into as many pieces as I could. On Friday I killed a fox in the Melburne quarrels. He had been run several times before, & always too hard for us, but has paid for it at last. We have had much better sport this winter than the last, & are in expectation of a good deal more. My dog Ranter is dead. We have good store of game."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 384.

The above letter, and some of those that follow, are interesting, because it has been asserted that foxes at that period were only hunted with the object of destroying them as vermin. Burdet's holy horror at the steel-trap is a sufficient refutation of such an error. These letters also show that foxes were not only hunted in the most orthodox fashion, but that they afforded runs which would be considered exceptionally fine even in our own days.

And now we go back to Loo.

1699, JUNE 27, LOO. ROBERT JENNENS TO [THOMAS COKE].

"Since we came hither we have had five chaces, killed four: the last we missed. Our weather has been extremely hot, which our thick-winded hounds have felt the inconveniency of, being apt to choke.

However, they do tolerably well, considering the little time they have been here. Redcap is an extraordinary hound, runs fast, stout, and hunts very well. Sir J. Harpur's hound something short of him, but very good; as are all Sir R. Burdet's."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 388.

From this it looks as if each sportsman brought a hound or two of his own, after the manner of the old "trencher-fed packs." Later in the same year the writer of the above letter returned to his own country and enjoyed an English fox-hunt.

1699, NOVEMBER 23, LONDON. ROBERT JENNENS TO THOMAS COKE.

"I was a fox hunting yesterday with my Lord Lexington in Windsor Forest. We found a fox, ran him about six miles, earthed him, dug him out, set him down in the middle of the Forest: he ran us two hours & a half afterwards, returned to the place where we found him, & scrat (scratched) into too strong an earth. In all we ran him near 25 miles. This is the only fox-chase I have seen this three years. Methinks I like it so well that I shall be glad to go with you sometimes, when you come to town."—*Ibid.*, 394.

This was a very long run; but that mentioned in another letter seems to have been longer still; or at any rate more fatiguing.

1701-2, JAN. 5 (GOPSALL). CHARLES JENNENS TO THOMAS COKE.

"I sent my servant yesterday morning to Bramcote, who found Sir Robert Burdet in bed, miserably fatigued by a fox chase the day before. They unkenneled at Hoppers, & ran him into Stafford, all dispersed & lost. Harry Burdet & a boy with one dog came home at night about nine: Sir Robert & his son Robert about ten; no news of Mr. Howard, Clark & the dogs the next morning at eight, when my boy came away."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 447.

The contributions in the *Reports of the Historical Commission* to a general history of racing are few. Three specimens shall be given here. It would be interesting to know the length of the course which it took an hour to run over.

1698, AUGUST 14-24, LOO. ROBERT JENNENS TO THOMAS COKE.

"Friday was sennight one Swerins a Dutchman, Receiver of the King's rents at Breda, knowing my horses to be in very ill condition, challenged me to run with any horse in my stable from Arnheim to Loo for 100 guineas, he & I to mount equal weight. He urged it so much that at last I took him up, & next day we showed our horses, to run on the Thursday following. He had got an old running mare, which I knew nothing of, & I believe he bought her purposely for a bite. The horse I found

in my stable in the best condition was Roan: & upon him I ventured, though had a great cold. The match made a great noise: the King put off a day's hunting: & a world of people both here and at starting came to see it. We went to Arnheim over night. I was forced to carry 8½ pound. His jockey dress was so comical being packed up in flannel and leather, that had I lost my match to such a mountebag I could never have shewed my face again. We started at nine o'clock Thursday morning. He led me till within two miles of the end, sometimes half, sometimes a quarter of a mile in front of me. His mare ran devilishly, & he rid better by much than we expected; & my horse being out of condition, I would have given double the sum to have been off. But at last I got up to him, made a loose or two, & within less than a quarter of a mile off the end his mare sank to nothing. I never was so rejoiced at anything in my life. We run it in an hour & half a minute. . . . Count d'Auvergne being asked why he'd venture with me, he answered he always joined with the English in horse-races, & with the Dutch in making dikes and building windmills."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 377.

1699, JULY 6-16, LOO. ROBERT JENNENS TO THOMAS COKE.

"In my last I told you I had two horse matches on my hands. The one was with my Lord Albemarle for 50 guineas, the other my Lord Aron[1] for 20; each

[1] Possibly Arran.

to mount himself upon what horse of his own he pleased, & run against Ritch the page, with a little galloway the boy had, of 12 hands, two miles. The grooms & most of the pretending jockeys were against me, & a great many laid 6 to 4. On Thursday I run my Lord Aron's, & beat him from the beginning to the end. The Dutchmen thought the devil was in the horse, for they could not comprehend how so little a tit could beat a great horse. That with my Lord Albemarle is drawn. You see what a plaguey fellow I am in this country."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 389.

WILLIAM FOSTER TO GEORGE RIGBY.

"1662, June 27, Wigan. Your brother Joseph, in midsomer day last . . . on Barber's Moore near Eccleston, at a horse race there . . . was ridinge, or rather runninge his new bought geldinge, &, being aboute the height of his speed, he mett a man (I think he was old Mr. Hesketh, his horse-keeper) running thother way, who, as they say, was drunke; & your brother givinge the way, the man gave way on the same side your brother did, soe that they mett with great force, for your brother's geldinge broke thother horse his necke & back, &, with throweinge up her head, hitt your brother on the nose & jowles, broke the garths, & left your brother sitting on the saddle, on the earth, in a swound; & soe he continued about halfe a quarter of an houre, but was never the worse." The letter adds that the other

man lay under his dead horse, but was not much hurt.—*MSS. of Lord Kenyon*, 27.

After noticing hunting and racing, we may give a little evidence about seventeenth and eighteenth century horse-dealing; and, for this purpose, we will recall Mr. Robert Jennens into the witness-box.

1699, Oct. 28, London. Robert Jennens to Thomas Coke at Melbourne.

"You give me so good a character of Wat Burdet's horse, that I must desire you to buy him upon as good terms as you can. More trial than hunting one cannot well desire of a horse, & I believe Wat Burdet rides twelve stone, as well as myself. Therefore if his temper & manner of going be good, pray let me have him. I assure you he's for myself, which makes me hope Wat will give him me upon his word. If he wants to have a mare covered by one of the King's Barbs, I believe I can procure it for him. I have seen them all in the stable, & some of them seem pretty strong horses. My Lord Stamford is to have one for Leicestershire, & he tells me he'll choose the horse I like best: he is very strong, but small."

The Same to the Same, Nov. 16.

"I received a letter from my brother last post, who tells me Wat Burdet is resolved to have fifty

guineas for his horse, which I'de venture to give. I wish he were a little higher than fourteen & an inch, but if he is proportionately strong, he may do well enough for a summer hunter."

THE SAME TO THE SAME, NOV. 23.

"I writ you two posts since to buy Wat Burdet's horse, if you still continue to like him. My brother writ me that he thought his legs a little rounder than ordinary, which makes desire if you have time, & think it proper, to give him a gentle purge or two, before he comes up, lest by travelling of him a foul horse may settle his grease, so as to make it difficult to remove; but you & Stephen Allen know best what's fit to be done."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 393-94.

Here is a letter to the same correspondent from the proposed seller of the horse, or, as we should call it, the pony. Note his pretended indifference as to selling the beast or not!

1698, DEC. 19. WALTER BURDET TO THOMAS COKE.

"My horse which you write of in yours (a grey stone horse) you may guess according to the character I give, that I am not willing to sell him out of our country. Though really I am willing to part with him to do such an honour to my breed as your letter mentions. His age is five, his height is fourteen hands & three quarters of an inch without

his shoe. 'Tis pity he should ever be bitted, he has so fine a mouth, & carries himself so well in a snaffe: but at the beginning of hunting he was somewhat wilful, & to recover him of that I clammed him, till I stirred his grease. How quiet he may be when he comes to be used again, I cannot answer: he is in good heart, but low in flesh. If any come to see him upon the account you mention, let him bring an assurance he comes from you: otherwise I shall not set a price of him to go out of the country, for I can have as much as a reasonable body could ask here, if I only sold him for money."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 382-83.

After pretending that he did not want to sell the grey horse and that he only sold the other to Jennens in order to do a favour to Coke, we find Walter Burdet, five months later, wanting to sell the grey horse's brother also.

1700, April 8. Walter Burdet to Thomas Coke.

After a message to Jennens about another horse, he adds significantly:—

"Many are of opinion that my colt, brother to Mr. Jennen's horse, is finer of his age than his brother; he is so gentle that my boy rides him about Knowle hills, & I have been tempted with money for him so far as twenty pounds at two years & a quarter; but that is not my price, which I'll raise!" —*Ibid.*, 397.

The horses of "his late Royal Highness, the Prince George of Denmark"—*Est il possible* as James II. used to call him—were not remarkable for their soundness.

AN APPRAISEMENT OF THE HORSES & MARES OF HIS LATE ROYALL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK, 20TH JUNE, 1709.

". . . Coach horses.

"Sett of 7 Black Danish horses & 1 gelding (1 blind, 1 spavined, 1 bad eyes, 1 broken winded & good for little). The whole set at £170.

"The sett of Danish bay mares & geldings (3 spavined, 2 blind). The whole Set at £50."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Townshend*, 11*th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 202-3.

Hunting and hawking were very kindred sports in the seventeenth century, as both hunters and hawkers rode, and rode across country. "Fowling" was generally accomplished with hawks, early in that century, although the "fowling-piece" was gradually coming into use. And we are afraid that our ancestors were very fond of using the net, driving the birds into it with slow and steady pointers.

A qualified licence was given by James VI. (James I. of England) to Lord Eglinton to "hauke & hunte in the weste countries" of Scotland. He was not to kill grouse or par-

tridges; nor was he to hunt hares with dogs likely to be able to catch them. It is curious that no mention is made of deer. One would have expected the king to rank these above partridges in clauses of reservation.

King James VI. to Alexander, Sixth Earl of Eglinton.

"Whereas our seruant John Leuingston hath bene an earnest sueter vnto vs that yee might haue license to hauke & hunte in the weste cuntries of that our kingdome wee are well pleased (in respecte that our intention was not to debarre anie of your ranke from his honest recreation or lawfull disporte, but onlie to preserve the game in a reasonable estate) thus far to yealde to your desire, as yee may with long winged haukes hauke & kill all sortes of foules; absteyning onlie from partridges and moore foules, & hunt hares with raches, giuing them faire play not hunting them with greyhoundes: and, persuading ourselfe that yee wolde vse your pastime no otherwise, although wee had made no restraynte, wee bid yow farewell." Hinchinbrook, 19 October, 1616.—*MSS. of the Earl of Eglinton*, 41.

There is no mention of guns in the above restrictions. "By the way, talking of guns" [see Preface] here is a notice of a double-barrelled gun in the reign of Charles II.

BASKERVILLE'S JOURNEYS IN ENGLAND, TEMP. CHARLES II.

"From hence 'tis accounted 7 miles over a dainty Cotswold country to Tetbury *alias* Tedbury, & in the way thither on the downs you commonly see flights of sea-mews, which birds if you carry a gun with you will afford recreation, for when you have killed one, if sometimes you swing him in your hand & sometimes lay him on the ground, the rest will soar over you so that you may shoot them on the pleasure. Sir William Kyte, of Ebberton or Ebrington, my worthy friend, had a gun made for the nonce which had a barrel contrived with two bores in one stock, which when they were charged he could fire as he pleased one after another, by this means he quickly got a good dish, & as he told me they were pretty good meat."—*MSS. of the Duke of Portland, vol. ii.*, 299.

Shooting seems to have been in full swing in 1698, as William Barnes talks of dogs being broken to a gun. But in these days we do not "sally into the woods" when we want to shoot partridges.

1698, NOV. 21, STANTON. WILLIAM BARNES TO THOMAS COKE.

"I have made a sally into the woods amongst the woodcocks & partridges, with good fortune. I killed a dozen & send them up to you potted. I design to make a general assault. I hope with good success to send you a much bigger pot. . . . Your Daneis

bitch is taken care of & sent to that gentleman, which is the famous shooter; he will be sure to make much of her, & do all he can to make her fit for a gun."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 381.

Here is something more about shooting and pointers. Observe, however, the notice of the net.

1703-4, Feb 2. Robert Hardinge to Thomas Coke.

"I have got your dog from Mr. Cocks. He tells Mr. Rolleston that he sets partridges well, & lies for the net; & if you shoot before him, he will lie. If he spring, you must beat him, & keep him humble & tied up. . . . The messenger that went for him tells me he saw Mr. Cocks take nine partridges with him this 1st February. The dog sprung others, & is too eager: so that if he points, you must check him a little at first, to take heed. Mr. Cocks told him, it was only that he had not been abroad for a fortnight."—*Ibid.*, *vol. iii.*, 30.

Fishing, in the seventeenth century, had a great advantage over hunting, hawking and shooting, from a literary point of view, through being described in detail in that great classic, *The Compleat Angler*, by Isaac Walton.

We have heard it suggested that until comparatively recent times anybody could fish wherever he liked. That this was not the case the *Reports* furnish considerable evidence in, among others, the following letters.

1700-1, Mar. 26, Chilcote. Sir Gilbert Clarke Knt. to Thomas Coke.

"My last lease of the fishing of Dove was let to my servant, Michael Cope, under seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, & dated September 1696 for 31 years." —*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 423.

1699-1700, Feb. 21, Formarke. Walter Burdett to Thomas Coke.

"Concerning the fishermen who trespassed upon my mother's water, when you was in the country, I had some trouble, but I have made them all pay but two, & those shall either pay or go to the House of Correction. But it has so incensed them that they threaten, whatever it costs them, they will take some water to qualify them to keep nets. They went to Sir Gilbert Clarke to have rented water in Dove, but he being sensible of their design was so genteel as to refuse them. Then three of them went to my cousin Gilbert Thacker & desired to take his water to be let to them at the rate of four pounds a year payable one moiety (a forehand rent) at Christmas. I waited upon my cousin Gilbert Thacker & told him the circumstances: he promised me that if they did not pay their forehand rent at the day he would determine the lease & would let Mr. John Harper have the waters, who offered the same sum. But notwithstanding they did not pay the money at the day he afterwards took it; & I think behaves himself so as I would desire to have as little dealing with

him as I can. Therefore if you would do your neighbours the kindness to leave him out of the Commission for the Taxes you will amongst others of your neighbours oblige your servant."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 397.

Here are some details about the fish in the river Trent.

BASKERVILLE'S JOURNEYS IN ENGLAND, TEMP. CHARLES II.

"My landlord Mr. Sully told me two things that were remarkable on & in the river Trent, viz. :—30 ancient manors by this river, & 30 sorts of fish in this river . . . 1, Salmon; 2, flounders; 3, sprats or young herrings; 4, pike; 5, trout; 6, chub; 7, barbel; 8, carp; 9, tench; 10, perch; 11, eels; 12, roach; 13, dace; 14, roof or pope; 15, blay; 16, gudgeon; 17, minnow; 18, cull; 19, craw-fish; 20, loach or card; . . . 21, grayling; 22, bret; 23, burbout; 24, rud; 25, banstikel lampurne which are young; 26, lampreys; 27, bream, if it be not a roach; 28, mussel; 29, a shell fish, smelt if it do come so high up the river; now what to name for the 30 fish I cannot tell except you allow grig which I could never distinguish from an eel, although our fishermen have endeavoured to show me. . . . A gentleman that was in the inn at Mansfield where I lay, told me he had, with angling, taken 50 trout in a day."

[York] "is pretty well served with fish, fresh cod

plenty, but oysters in their season dear, half a crown a hundred, & are brought hither in ships from Scotland, for they had none in the sea near the mouth of the Humber till of late, as a man in Hull told me, for a Scottish ship laden with oysters being there cast away they now begin to breed there, so that as the proverb saith 'tis a bad wind which blows nobody good."—*MSS. of the Duke of Portland, vol. ii.*, 311-12.

One of the favourite so-called sports, in this country, until a period within the memory of people still living, was cock-fighting; but, beyond casual mentions of cock-fights, the compiler of these extracts has found little on the subject.

BRIDGET NOEL TO HER SISTER, THE COUNTESS OF RUTLAND.

["1687, April.] . . . hear is a coking (cock-fighting) & hors matches which we have promised to be at. My Lord Toumand will be at the great coking, & Barney, & Lord Grandson, & a great meny more lords that I doe not know ther name, it is sade hear that it will be as great a match as ever has been. Barney intends to back our coks with some thousands for he is on our side. . . . The great coking dos not begin till the 29 & twenty of June, but we have a letel wan begins of Whesen Mondy."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. ii., 12th Rep., App., Part V.*, 113.

Here is an advertisement of the sister-barbarities of dog-fighting, bull-baiting and bear-baiting.

1702, APRIL 27. A PRINTED-PAPER IN THE FORM OF A PLAY BILL, HAVING AT THE TOP THE ROYAL ARMS BETWEEN THE LETTERS A.R. (ANNA REGINA).

"At the Bear Garden in Hockley in the Hole, near Clerkenwell Green.

"These are to give notice to all gentlemen, gamesters, & others that on this present Monday, being the 27th of April 1702, a great match is to be fought by a bald faced Dog of Middlesex against a fallow Dog of Cow Cross, for a Guinea each Dog, five let-goes out of hand, which goes fairest & furthest in wins all; being a General Day of Sport by all the old Gamesters, & a great Mad Bull to be turned loose in the Game-place, with Fire-works all over him, & two or three Cats ty'd to his Tail, & Dogs after them. And other variety of Bull-baiting & Bear-baiting. Beginning at two of the Clock."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. iii.*, 7.

There is no lack of notices of the stage in the *Reports of the Historical Commission.*

The great David Garrick (1716-79) would alone have made the English theatre famous in the eighteenth century. In the following letter he clearly found a difficulty in replying to one from an amateur without giving offence. As in so many other letters, "the pith is in the post-script."

DAVID GARRICK TO [SIR JOHN HUSSEY DELAVAL], MARCH 26. HAMPTON.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have not had a single moment to myself since I came here; & upon consideration, any comments that I could write in the hurry I am in at present would only confound & mislead. It is a very difficult matter to describe with accuracy & precision the tones & actions which would be necessary to execute such & such passages. It is my opinion that every other method but rehearsals before the person you may think capable of instructing you, would rather be of disservice than otherwise to the speaker.

"I shall say therefore that a *fix'd* attention to the business of the scene, which Lady Stanhope has to the greatest perfection, is the *sine qua non* of acting. In the speaking of soliloquies the great art is to give variety, & which can only be obtained by a strict regard to the pauses. The mixing of the different parts of a monologue together will necessarily give a monotony, and take away the spirit & sense of the author.

"I shall always be happy to contribute everything in my power to your pleasure, & if you will favour me with a letter, & are of opinion that I can solve any questions in your present undertaking, I will send the best answer in my power and immediately. Therefore don't spare me; for I shall be proud to

throw in my mite to an entertainment which will give so much pleasure to the spectators & do honour to the undertakers.

"I am,

"Dear Sir,

"Most truly your obedient & obliged humble servant,

"D. GARRICK.

"There was one passage in Lothario which I thought at the time his Royal Highness might have spoken with more levity, & a kind of profligate insensibility to the distress of Calista. It was this speech—

—— with uneasy fondness
She hung upon me, &c.[1]

I beg you once again to employ me how you please & as often [as] you please, if you think I can be of the least service to you."—*MSS. of Lady Waterford*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VII.*, 80-81.

Like most owners of theatres, David Garrick found his female actors very kittle cattle to deal with.

14 OCT., 1765. FROM CATHERINE RAFTAR, THE ACTRESS, KNOWN BY THE NAME OF KITTY CLIVE, TO DAVID GARRICK.

". . . I am sure I have allways done everything in my power to serve & oblige you: the first I

[1] This occurs in Rowe's "Fair Penitent," Act I., Scene 1, p. 16, of Tonson's edition of 1766.

have undoubtedly succeeded in, the latter I have allways been unfortunately unsuccessful in, though I have taken infinite pains. Your dislike of me is as extraordinary as the reason you gave Mr. Sterne for it. . . . I have had but a very small share of the publick monney. You give Mrs. Cibber 600 hunderd poundes for playing sixty nights, & three to me for playing a hunderd and eighty, out of which I can make it appear it coasts me a hunderd on necessary's for the stage."—*MSS. of Alfred Morrison, App. to 9th Rep.*, 479.

Eleven years later Kitty Clive and David Garrick were evidently on much better terms.

31 JAN., 1776. THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"I schreemd at your parish business. I think I see you in your churchwardenship quariling with the bakers for not makeing your brown loaves big enough; but for Godsake never think of being a Justice of the Peice, for the people will quarill on purpos to be brought before you to hear you talk, so that you may have as much business upon the [bench?] as you had upon the boards. If I should live to be thawed, I will come up to town on purpose to kiss you, & in the summer, as you say, I hope we shall see each other ten times as often, when we will talk & dance & sing, & send our hearers laughing to their beds." —*Ibid.*, 481.

The following relates to David Garrick's wife.

1746, MARCH 27. LETTER BY WILLIAM WENTWORTH, LORD STAFFORD. HE MENTIONS THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE NEW DANCER VIOLETTI (AFTERWARDS MRS. GARRICK).

"She surprised the audience at her first appearance on the stage; for at her beginning to caper she shewed a neat pair of black velvet breeches with roll'd stockings, but finding they were unusual in England, she changed them the next time for a pair of white drawers."—*MSS. of the Earl of Spencer, App. to 2nd Report*, 24.

We have next a letter from Richard Cumberland (1732-1811) who had tried several trades. It was intended that he should be a clergyman, but on leaving Cambridge he became Secretary to the Board of Trade, and in 1780 he was sent to Madrid on a confidential mission. The Board was suppressed in 1782, and, having received an allowance in compensation, he devoted his time to literature. He wrote no less than thirty dramas. Sheridan satirised him as "Sir Fretful Plagiary" in *The Critic*.

RICHARD CUMBERLAND TO LORD G. GERMAIN.

[1784, Dec. 3.] "St. Alban Street. I find there is no way so effectual to give me some consideration with myself as to suppose you take some little interest even in my dramatic concerns; therefore I take the liberty to tell you that the *Carmelite*[1] was

[1] "The Carmelite" was produced on Dec. 2, 1784.

triumphantly received, & I am now sitting in a dirty little lodging (*not Mr. Lackington's*) over a smoky chimney by myself under the shade of my lawrells. Mrs. Siddons was divine, & crowned with unceasing peals of applause; Mr. Palmer & Mr. Kemble excellent, Mr. Smith execrable; if anything coud have tempted you to sacrilege, you would have crackt his shaven crown with your cane for being such a bellowing Carmelite. I found Sir Charles Thompson with Mrs. Siddons this morning, & was vastly flattered by him; posted between actress & author he scarce knew which way to turn; Lord Loughborough was there & all the fine people in the town; poets, painters, printers, writers, devils, & demireps from all quarters. . . . Father Hussey was with me in the manager's box, & wept streams, but he anathemised his brother monk & said he acted like an atheist preaching Christianity. I took Henderson into the Green Room, where he was the life & soul of the party, adoring Mrs. Siddons and cheering every body about him; her brother Kemble was applauded thro' the house, & his likeness to Mrs. Siddons, whose son he is in the play, was greatly felt. . . . I was sorry for Miss Leighton's sake to find Lord Derby with Lady Paragon, when I came with my book under my arm to read her part; we are great friends, however, though rivals, & I was afraid he would have jumped out of a three-pair-of-stairs slip last night for joy of the *Carmelite*, & I really doubt if he woud not, had not the spikes of

the orchestra been in his way; he made it up with screaming. Sheridan behaved like an angel both to me & the performers, & even Will Woodfall grinned a ghastly smile."—*Mrs. Stopford Sackville's MSS.*, *I.*, 342-43.

Samuel Foote, the actor, mimic, and author, broke his leg, and it became necessary to amputate it. This is what he calls "my dreadful calamity" in the next letter. The Duke of York eventually procured for him the patent of the Haymarket Theatre for his life.

MARCH 19. LETTER FROM SAMUEL FOOTE TO DELAVAL. NO YEAR IS GIVEN. FOOTE WAS BORN IN 1720, DIED IN 1777.

"Ten thousand thanks to you, my dear Sir, for your more than polite, your very kind & friendly letter. . . . I suppose you know that the Duke of York has been here these three days. You likewise know with what singular humanity & generosity he behaved at the time of my dreadful calamity. He warmly expressed a desire of securing me from the only additional distress that can now befall me;—Poverty. I took the liberty to mention to his Royal Highness that a patent from the Crown for the house in the Haymarket during my life would protect me from want; that I had hitherto been permitted to exhibit there at only the time that no other playhouse would open their doors; that I had been obliged to write all that was spoke there, I speak almost all

that was wrote; that from the uncertainty of my tenure, the Chamberlain's staff so often shifting into different hands, I could not venture to engage proper assistants or decorate the theatre in a manner worthy the guests that I have very often the honour to see there. . . . I am week, in pain, & get no sleep but from opiates; but however the artery's bleeding is stopped, & they flatter me that in less than a fortnight I shall be on crutches, & then with safety may be conducted to London."—*MSS. of Lady Waterford, 11th Rep., App., Part VII.*, 77-78.

In England, during the eighteenth century, the opera began early in the evening. In Venice, on the contrary, it did not begin till very late.

LORD BRUCE TO HIS FATHER, THE EARL OF AILESBURY.

"1792, May 30, Venice. The most disagreeable thing attending the opera is that it does not begin before 10 o'clock, consequently it is never over, dances & all, before half-past two in the morning, & I am told the three or four first representations lasted till daybreak, as the ballets were twice as long. The set of dancers are as usual bad as they are all Italians, except one, & she is a Spanish girl who learnt in France, & has none of the disagreeable Italian manner of jumping."—*MSS. of the Earl of Ailesbury*, 247.

The next extract does honour to Thomas Sheridan's[1] attempt to improve the condition of the stage in Dublin; but it gives a woeful account of the state in which he found it.

DIARIES OF THE RT. HON. WILLIAMS WINDHAM.

"Sheridan's experiences as manager of the Dublin Theatre. He attempted 'to bring the stage to some respectable footing from a situation of the greatest tumult & indecency. As an instance of the state it was in before, he told that when Garrick was acting Lear, & reclining his head on Mrs. Woffington's lap as Cordelia, one of her audience on the stage came & thrust his hand into her bosom. He afterwards searched Garrick through the house in the intent to chastise him or perhaps kill him because he heard he had looked displeased at it. The stage used to be crowded so as scarcely to leave room for the actors, & all kinds of disorder were the consequence. The first step taken was to forbid all admission behind the scenes.' This led to great disorder; 'a Mr. Kelly, a Connaught man chose to climb over by the orchestra. Sheridan charged the constable with him, but the constable, being afraid to detain a person of the appearance of a gentleman, let him go.' At the end of the performance Mr.

[1] Thomas Sheridan, father of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, born in Dublin, 1719, actor, author, manager; and subsequently educational reformer, lecturer and teacher of elocution.

Kelly broke into Sheridan's dressing room, '& so abused him that Sheridan knocked him down.'[1]

"Further riots took place and Sheridan was obliged to go to law. He obtained verdicts against three persons. 'He mentioned that this was the first instance of a Grand Jury's finding a bill against a person considered as a gentleman."—*MSS. of R. W. Ketton*, 12*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IX.*, 210.

We have here a very free and easy letter, written in a true Bohemian spirit, by Edmund Kean.

"May, ——. From Edmund Kean to Mr. Bridge, Assuring his friend there was no need 'to apologise for breach of ceremony,' the writer says, 'All the fashionable parade of "card leaving," "At Home," & "the honor of your company," &c. &c., I have long since, with the rubbish appertaining to it, kicked out of my doors. The friends with whom I wish to associate are such as will come uninvited, go unretarded, share the family meat, drink ½ a dozen bottles if he can, a pint if it better suits his inclination, laugh at the follies of the world, pity those poor devils in the shackles of refinement, chatter Philo-

[1] This happened Jan. 19, 1746, when Sheridan's management was quite young. On the next day Kelly, by misrepresentation of what Sheridan under strong provocation had said to him from the stage, incited his friends to wreck the theatre. Kelly was arrested, tried for assault and condemned to three months' imprisonment and a fine of £500. After a week in prison, he made an appeal to Sheridan, with the result that he was released and the fine was remitted.

sophy, & sing a song.'" Dated from Clarges Street. —*MSS. of Alfred Morrison, App. to 9th Rep.*, 488.

Tournaments were on the decline even in the early part of the period covered by the letters and papers dealt with in these extracts; but two notices of them shall be given.

GEORGE DELVES TO THE EARL OF RUTLAND.

"1571, May 14, The Court. Lord Oxford has performed his challenge at tilt, turn, & barriers, far above the expectation of the world, & not much inferior to the other three challengers. Their furniture was very fair & costly. The Earl's livery was crimson velvet, very costly. He himself & the furniture was in some more colours, yet he was the Red Knight. Charles Howard was the White Knight; Sir Henry Lee the Green Knight. Mr. Hatton was the Black Knight, whose horses were all trimmed with caparisons of black feathers, which did passing well. There were twenty-seven defendants, whereof your servant was one. Twenty-six of them were fair & gallantly furnished, Lord Stafford & Lord Harry Seymour the chief. Henry Grey had the prize for tilt, Lord Harry for the turn, Thomas Cecil (Syssyll) for the barriers. Some there be that think they had not therein right judgment."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, 12th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 92.

PHILIP GAWDY TO HIS NEPHEW.

"26 March, [1604]. I cam to towne some 2 or 3 days before the tylting, which I sawe, & it was as

poorely worthe the seing as any that ever I sawe in my lyfe, & very fewe runners, which were theise the Duke of Lynnexx, my Lords Arundell, Pembroke, Montgomery, Hayes, Dingwell, North, Walden, Sir Tho. Howorth, Sir Rob. Dowglas, both the Alexanders; none made any show at all; Lord Dingwall's was worth all the rest. . . . Sir Thomas Somerset was hurte with a fall, & so rann not at tylt."—*MSS. of G. E. Frere, App. to 7th Rep.*, 529.

In the more recently preceding pages, we have been making quotations concerning the amusements, sports, and pleasures of the past. We will now look at the reverse of the medal, and read about the mishaps, the crimes, the punishments, the quarrels and the duels of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Let us begin with some Accidents. The first was a very queer kind of accident; but an accident it is professed to have been.

WILLIAM MULSHO TO JO. CAYWORTH.

[1630, January.] "A boy of seven years old came up into a gentleman's chamber & prattled to him, & drew his sword & flourished with it. The gentleman, being in bed, wondered to see the boy toss his blade so, & said, so, good boy, thou hast done well, put up the sword. The boy persisting, the gentleman rose & held him the scabbard, & the rude handed lad, thinking to sheathe the sword, lustily chopt it into his belly. Company were called;

one offered to strike the child. Let him alone, quoth the gentleman, God is just, this boy's father did I kill five years since, & none knew; now he hath revenged it. And the gentleman died the second dressing."—*MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu*, 113.

The Harley Papers represent the death of Hampden, usually supposed to have been the result of wounds inflicted by an enemy in battle, to have been the result of an accident.

The incidents described by Sir Robert Pym are said to have taken place in an expedition from Reading against Prince Rupert, who was making a hostile excursion from Oxford :—

IX., Harley Papers. "Sir Edward Harley happened to go out of town towards his seat in Herefordshire with Sir Robert Pym of Farringdon; they were relations. . . . Sir Robert, who had married Mr. Hampden's daughter, acquainted his companion with the true history of his father-in-law's receiving his death-wound on Chalgrove Field. 'You know,' says he, 'it is commonly thought that my father-in-law dyed of a wound he received from the enemy in Chalgrove Field, but you shall hear the exact truth of the matter.'

"'Prince Rupert came, & did the havock and execution design'd, & which could not by this intelligence & precaution be intirely prevented. In a skirmish on this occasion Mr. Hampden drew one of his pistols, & as it gave fire it burst to pieces in his

hand, & shatter'd his arm in a very dismall manner. Upon this he made the best of his way off; he was very well mounted as he always used to be. . . . As soon as he possibly could he sent for me; he was in very great pain, & told me that he suspected his wound was mortal; but what makes it still more grievous to me, says he, is, that I am afraid you are in some degree accessory to it, for the hurt I have receiv'd his (*sic*) occasioned by the bursting of one of those pistolls which you gave me. You may be sure I was not a little surprized & concern'd at hearing this, & assured him they were bought from one of the best workmen in France, & that I had myself seen them tryed. You must know it was Mr. Hampden's custom, whenever he was going abroad, always to order a new serving boy that he had to be sure to take care that his pistolls were loaded, & it seems the boy did so very effectually, for when ever he was thus order'd he always put in a fresh charge without considering or examining whether the former charge had been made use of or not, & upon examining the remaining pistoll they found it was in this manner quite filled up to the top with two or three supernumery (*sic*) charges. And the other pistoll having been in the same condition was the occasion of its bursting, & shattering Mr. Hampden's arm in such a manner that he received his death by the wound & not by any hurt from the enemy.' "—*MSS. of Captain Loder Symonds*, 13*th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 403-4.

As early as 1665 accidents had begun through pointing a gun supposed to be unloaded.

"County Dublin. Memorandum. . . . At the general Sessions of the peace & gaole delivery &c. Samuel Stone . . . haberdasher, was indicted, arrained, & tryed, for the felonious killing of David Laramere. . . . It appeared by the evidence of several witnesses . . . that the said Samuel, being at the day of killing the said David Laramere, at Artayne in the said county, where the said Samuel finding a fowling-peece at the doore of Mr. Robert Munns of Artayne aforesaid, tooke up the said fowling-peece, & drew out the rammer & put it into the barrell of the said fowling-peece, thereby to try whether the said peece were laden or noe, and that the rammer was too short for the said barrel a handful, to wit, six or seaven inches or thereabouts, by which the said Samuel seeing the said rammer fall cleere within the barrell imagined the said fowling-peece not to be charged, & that the said David Laramere playing with the said Samuel Stone & seeing him, the said Samuel, holding the said peece in his hands, uttered these words, viz. shoote, Mr. Stone, shoote, or words to that very effect; whereupon the said Samuel drew out the rammer & put it into the barrel as aforesaid, & afterwards having put up the said rammer the said peece beeing halfe cocked by accident went off and by misfortune shot the said David in the face, whereof hee immediately

dyed. . . . 11th day of July, 1665."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Ormond, App. to 9th Rep.*, 170-71.

Perhaps in this twentieth century we might not exactly dignify the incident described in the following letter as "ane accident."

ALEXANDER MACNAUGHTAN OF DUNDURAV TO [ADDRESS WANTING] DUNDURAV, APRYLL 1, 1671.

"Much honored,

I fynd it my deutie to advertyse youe of ane accident that is latlie falline out at Inverary. Your coussine, Collonell Menzies, was yesternight drinking with the Laird of Lochineall & young Lochbuy. Being eftir cups, Lochbuy offered to beat the Collonell. The candill went out, there was ane pistoll discharged, & Lochineall was shott deid through the heide. When the candill was lighted, Lochbuy & Inchonnell, being Lochineall's sons in laue, thought to have killed the Collonell, but Inerliver & other gentellmen who were present did not permit theme. My Lord was advertysed who cam presentlie & apprehended all the company."

MacNaughtan goes on to say that Colonel Menzies will be tried for murder; but, "att ten acloak at night," he adds:—

"Since wryting of my last I have I thank God receaved good news. Ane servant of Collonell Menzies called McGrigar is found to be the actor. He has confest the slaughter, & declares that he did it without the advyce of any persone; but being

drunk, as they wer all, & seeing Lochbuy offering to abuse his master, he shot at hime with ane littill short peice he caryed loadined with draps. He missed Lochbuy & killed Lochineall. The yung man being informed that his master was accused for the slaughter did most ingenouslie, without examinatione, acknowledg the guilt, &c."—*MSS. of Sir R. Menzies, App. to 6th Rep.*, 699-700.

Further correspondence shows that justice was eventually satisfied by all the persons concerned being bound over to keep the peace.

We often hear the so-called Jerry-built houses of to-day contrasted very unfavourably with the houses of the past; but, with all their faults, they seldom tumble about after the fashion, not of a house, but of a castle, of which we are going to read.

J. STEUART TO [ADDRESS WANTING], GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF LADY DUNDEE'S DEATH.

"Utricht, Oct. 17, 1695.

. . . On Tuesday night being the 15 of this instant Kilseith,[1] with my Lady Dundee & familie, arived here in perfect good health, about six of the cloacke, & went lodge at the Casle of Antwerp, till they should be better accommodated. They dined both at the publick table yesterday where my lady was extraordiary good company. Five or sex more

[1] William, Third Viscount Kilsyth. He married Jean, relict of John, Viscount Dundee, and third daughter of William, Lord Cochrane, eldest son of William, Earl of Dundonald.

of our country men dyned with them. They went above stiears to the Chamber about two a cloack, for my lady was to receave some of our country men. I parted with my lady about the quarter of the hour after two, to goe toe my chambre, to lay by the books which I had att my colledges in the forenoon; &, before I gott the lenth of my chambre, there came on runing to me with the sad news that the chamber wherin they where had fallen vpon them, & that it was thought they were all killed; and, affter I came there, I found, to my sad regraite, it was so. Kilseith was, by great providence, gotten out, but his legs were a litle squised, & all his cloaths torn. Mr. Walkenshaw of Barrowfield, who had been paying my lady his respects, was gotten out about three quarters of ane hour thereafter. He was sore bruised, but nothing of him broke he will certainly be well enouth within two or three dayes. But the poor Lady Dundee, with her sone, & chamber maid, were kiled with the fall. It wes ane houre thereafter before the ladyes body could be gott out, but it could easily be knowne, by seeing her corps, that she had been killed with the fall of the jists. The house itself is nott fallen, only the people to whom the house belonged had bin, all that day, carreing up theer trufs [turf] to the chamber immediately above thers, &, after they had carried up the last sackfull of 300 (*sic*) tuns, the weight of that great quantity of turff broke doune the loft aboue them. . . . The thing that saved Barrowfield was a

table which he stood by; & the thing saved Kilseith was that the weight lighted on his back, & threw him close to the dore; where he was almost kiled whene they were breaking up the dore, for he had neither place to go back nor forward. Kilseith is the most aflicted man that ever was &c."[1]—*MSS. of the Duke of Athole, 12th Rep., App., Part VIII.*, 49-50.

One of the Dukes of Athol met with a very curious accident and tried a yet more curious remedy.

1774, Nov. 16, Cawline Park. Sir James Adolphus Oughton to the Earl of Dartmouth.

"I have a thousand things to say to you & know not well where to begin. The poor Duke of Athol is first in point of time, & the idea strong on my mind. On the Wednesday he was seized with an apoplectic fit: on his recovery from it he swallowed (without knowing it and before he could be prevented) a tea cup full of hartshorn, with which they had been rubbing his temples; he instantly bled violently at nose and mouth, saying nothing could relieve him, but being put up to the chin in the Tay. . . . On

[1] Kilsyth married again. He engaged in the rebellion of 1715, and was attainted of high treason. His estate and honours were forfeited, and he died in Rome, in the year 1733, at the age of 83. "In 1795, a leaden coffin in the church of Kilsyth was opened, containing the bodies of a lady, supposed to be the first wife of Lord Kilsyth, and her son, in perfect preservation. The lady bore evident marks of a violent death, and it is said was killed by the fall of a house in Holland."—Burke's *Dormant and Extinct Peerages*, p. 329.

Saturday about 8 at night he found means to slip out of the house and running down to the river plunged in . . . and the next morning was found eight miles below his house not in the least disfigured; but all efforts to restore life failed, never man more justly or more universally lamented."—*MSS. of the Earl of Dartmouth*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part V.*, 368.

A constant source of trouble and danger during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even the early nineteenth centuries, was from highwaymen. They often come in for a passing notice in the *Reports*. Baskerville, in his Diary, appears to think that in the instance about to be mentioned, the men in question had scarcely any choice but to "rob on the high-way."

Baskerville's Journeys in England, temp. Charles II.

[York] "Here is in town a famous midwife who got so much money by her trade that she keeps a coach & a good house, whose maiden name was Baskerville, but now Hodgkin. This woman hearing of my name was very desirous to see me, upon which I went to her house where she bid me welcome, & told me a sad story of the evils which befel her after the death of her husband in the late wars. She told me after her husband's death she was so poor she had scarce a smock to her breech. And that she had two sons, lusty men, who had been soldiers for the late King, but his party being deprest

they were driven to such extremity they were fain to rob on the high-way, & being taken, they were both brought to York gaol in the castle, & being arraigned for their lives were both condemned to be hanged, & executed accordingly. Some told her if she would beg the youngest son she might have him but had a mind to the oldest which would not be granted and so both went to the grave together. These sad disasters begat in this city such a commiseration of her condition that they advised her to turn midwife, & in that trade she has been so fortunate that she keeps a good house, a coach, & is grown wealthy."—*MSS. of the Duke of Portland, vol. ii.*, 312-13.

Even a certain admiration was sometimes shown for bold highwaymen.

WM. DENTON TO SIR R. VERNEY.

"1677, May 31. There has been a brave robbery hereabouts.—One of the two taken on Friday last at Haies, within 4 miles of Uxbridge, that robbed two parsons;—three more came to see him next day while Justice Jennings was in the house, and yet they had not the wit to take them." —*MSS. of Sir H. Verney, App. to 7th Rep.*, 494.

There appears to have been at least one clerical highwayman.[1]

[1] In the parish register of a village in Shropshire, there is a note to the entry of the burial of a former inhabitant, saying that he was a doctor practising in the neighbourhood; but that he secretly

DR. PRIDEAUX TO HIS SISTER, MRS. ANN COFFIN.

"30 Jan., 1691 (2) . . . One parson Smith, Reader or Lecturer, of Chelsy, was yesterday committed (by the Lord Chief Justice Holt) being accused for being concerned in many robberyes, & assisting highwaymen."—*MSS. of J. R. Pine Coffin, App. to 5th Rep.*, 582.

In the next letter, again, the highwayman is clearly regarded as a hero.

1713, JULY 19, OXFORD. GEO. BERKELEY TO SIR J. P.

". . . Grand performances at the theatre, & great concourse from London & the country, amongst whom were several foreigners, particularly about 30 Frenchmen of the Ambassador's company, who, as is reported, were all robbed by a single Highwayman."—*MSS. of the Earl of Egmont, App. to 7th Rep.*, 239.

There must have been some very bad shooting on both sides in a highway robbery in Kilkenny.

GEO. ROSS TO LORD BARRYMORE.

"1740, Aug. 22, Ann's Grove. . . . There is it seems a strong body of robbers in the county of Kilkenny, consisting of 30 & upwards. It so fell

acted as a highwayman at night; and that, before his death, he was very proud of having committed a great many highway robberies without having once murdered anybody.

out that a son of Chancellor Calaghane's (the same that was at Castle Lyons, with Sir William Burdett) his name, Thomas, as I take it on his journey from Dublin to Lord Tyrone's, fell into their hands. As soon as they approached, he jumped out of his chair, handed his petronels, which having discharged, they returned the like, not only with petronels, but also with blunderbusses, & though they were very near each other, yet it so fell out that not one was slain, though the balls passed very close on both sides. At length they overpowered him & robbed him of about two hundred pounds, afterwards they carried him into an adjacent pound & stripped him naked, all to his breeches & in that pickle left him, having demolished his chair & horse & then made off."—*MSS. of the Rev. T. H. G. Puleston, Bart.*, 322.

There is much less romance about footpads than about mounted highwaymen; but they were little less dangerous, and often much less chivalrous.

1773, May 28. Charles Brietzcke to Edward Weston, from Whitehall.

"Two men were murdered last Sunday Night in the New Road, by some foot pads who attempted to rob them: Two of the Murderers were this day committed to Newgate, & as the Sessions begin to Morrow at the Old Bailey, it is supposed they will suffer on Monday the punishment due for such a bloody minded Act; it is shocking to think to

what a pass the lower class of People are arrived in this wicked Capital &c."—*MSS. of E. F. Weston Underwood*, 424.

Lord North[1] seems to have taken being robbed by highwaymen very quietly and rather as a matter of course.

1774, Oct. 5, Bushy Park. Lord North to —— Cooper.

". . . I was robbed last night as I expected. Our loss was not great, but, as the postilion did not stop immediately, one of the two highwaymen fired at him & bruised his side. It was at the end of Gunnersbury Lane."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Abergavenny*, 10*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VI.*, 6.

Even without highwaymen or footpads, the streets of London itself were dangerous in the seventeenth century.

1677, Dec. 6. John Verney to Edmund Verney.

". . . On Monday night a hackney coach & horses, & a gentleman in it, went back into Fleet ditch (there were no rails), & was either drowned or smothered in mud."—*MSS. of Sir H. Verney*, *App.*, 7*th Rep.*, 469.

In the good old days, a much worse crime than highway robbery, in the opinion of the authorities, was that of witchcraft. It was not, however, always easy to prove.

[1] Prime Minister from 1770 to 1781.

SIR JOHN MURE OF CALDWELL, KNIGHT, TO HUGH, THIRD EARL OF EGLINTON.

". . . As to novellis I haif na vderis bot as I haif writing, except Niknevin thollis ane assysiss this Tysday; it is thovcht scho sall suffer the deth; sum vderis belevis nocht. Gif scho deis it is ferit schoe doe cummer & caus mony vderis to incur danger; bot as yit for no examinatione me Lord Regent nor the ministeris can make scho will confess no wytchcreftis nor gilt, nor vderis, bot sayis to me Lord Regent & the examineris that it is nocht that hes cavsit hir to be taen bot the potingaris; & that for invy, be reasone she vass the help of thame that vass onder infirmate; & spakis the most crafte spakein as is possibill to ane woman to be sa far past in yeiris qwha is ane hundrit yeris &c. St. Andrews, 10 May, 1569."—*MSS. of the Earl of Eglinton*, 43.

For the benefit of anyone unaccustomed to sixteenth-century spelling, it may be as well to say that the drift of the above is much as follows: The only news the writer had to give was that, at the assizes on Tuesday, an old woman, named Niknevin, had been examined for witchcraft by the Regent (Murray) and the Minister (John Knox). Some people think that she will be condemned to death, but others think not. If she escapes sentence it is feared that many people will be in danger from her. So far, no examination has induced her to confess witchcraft or any other

guilt. She maintains that she has been arraigned solely through the jealousy of the doctors, who are envious at her success in helping the infirm. She defends herself wonderfully cleverly for a woman a hundred years old.

It might be supposed that nobody would confess to witchcraft, when its punishment was burning; but sometimes people accused of witchcraft not only confessed it but took pride in it. In support of this assertion, it may be worth mentioning that, in a book, which the extractor has lately read about West Africa, by a living missionary, the author says that when he begged for the life of a girl who was about to be put to death for witchcraft, the chief of her tribe told him to ask the girl herself whether she was guilty, and, to the missionary's intense astonishment, she said that she was.

Part of the examination of a person accused of witchcraft was physical, when woe betide the accused if there was a sore place, a blue spot that would not bleed, a wart, or anything in the suspicious shape of "a teat" upon the body.

CORPORATION DIARY . . . 1628-1637.

"2 June, 1634. William Wallis & his wife Edith, accused of bewitching Edward Bonavant, so that he has constant fits of shaking. Wallis is searched, & found to be a man as other men, 'not having teat bigg or small about his bodye, but a blewe spott or two,' which, when pricked, bled. He is bound over

to appear at the assizes, & his wife is committed to gaol."—*MSS. of Reading Corporation, 11th Rep., App., Part VII.*, 185.

Let it be noted that the examiner of witches in the next two letters was a Bishop; and he, not a poor benighted papist, but an orthodox Bishop of the Church of England as by law established in the reign of Charles I.

1634-5, MARCH 13, CHESTER. JOHN BRIDGEMAN, BISHOP OF CHESTER, TO SIR JOHN COKE.

"On Monday night last I received your letter which required me to examine certain women, late of Wigan, & now in Lancaster, condemned for witches, & to certify His Majesty what I shall find before this next assizes: that his pleasure being returned, they may be preserved if innocent, or executed if culpable."

The Bishop then says that he has been very ill and unable to travel to Lancaster. Two months later he made the journey.

1635, MAY 11, LANCASTER. JOHN BRIDGEMAN, BISHOP OF CHESTER, TO SIR JOHN COKE.

"In obedience to His Majesty's command I rode from Chester to Lancaster to have examined the four women which lay here condemned for witches; but two of them were dead. . . . The other two I have examined & herewith send you their examinations. I presume to certify this withal; first that the prosecutor, one James Ireland, a Wigan skirmer,

hath been formerly distracted & lunatic; secondly, that the chief witness against Swift (called Ellen Partington) is reputed to be a common beggar & of no reputation. And as for Barker, she hath been reputed a witch for a long time, but I never heard any particular that might induce me to believe it, though she dwelt not past a mile from my house at Wigan; only I now find a strange piece of flesh about the quantity of a hazel nut, somewhat round & flat, growing upon a small stalk on the higher ridge of her right ear, whereof the upper end is raw & bloody, & some suspect it to be a dug for her familiar to suck at; but, by discourse or enquiry I can gather nothing from her to inform you, more than her examination doth import."—*MSS. of the Earl of Cowper, K.G., vol. ii., 77 and* 80.

The wife of the Sixth Lord Eglinton was apparently somewhat prejudiced against witches.

Margaret (Scott) Second Countess of Alexander, Sixth Earl of Eglinton, to her Husband.

". . . God Allmighti send a gud tryell of all the wicthis, & send them a hotte fire to burne them with." 8 May, 1650.—*MSS. of Earl of Eglinton*, 57.

The seventeenth century may justly be described as a period of executions. In those days an execution, if a pain to the victim, was a pleasure to the spectators. Even ladies of refinement, or at least of reputed refinement, used to attend them.

DR. PRIDEAUX TO HIS SISTER, MRS. ANN COFFIN.

"14 June, 1690. . . . Yesterday was the generall execution day, & one criminall hanged at Newgate for killing his keeper. Tothers were carryed in carts to Tyburne, but a reprieve came, & brought them all back alive."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"21 June, 1690. . . . 3 of the 7 malefactors, brought from the gallows that day sennight were yesterday carried thither againe & executed; its sayd, for great rudeness & insolent carriage since the repreeve."—*MSS. of J. R. Pine Coffin, App. to 5th Rep.*, 380.

The next extract refers to the execution of Sir John Johnston. Sir John, says Burke in his *Peerage*, "who entered when very young into the army, served in King William's wars in Flanders, and was a captain at the battle of the Boyne. Whilst in London for a short time, with his friend Capt. the Hon. James Campbell, he was unfortunately induced to assist that gentleman in eloping with and marrying Miss Mary Wharton, the great favourite of King William, who had interest to procure a proclamation, offering a reward for apprehending them. Campbell escaped into Scotland; Sir John was taken and tried, condemned to death, and executed on 31 Dec., 1690."

Mary Wharton was the daughter and sole heiress

of Sir Thomas Wharton, brother to Lord Wharton. James Campbell was brother to the first Duke of Argyle. Mary's marriage with James Campbell was dissolved by Parliament, and she was afterwards married to Robert Brierly, M.P.

DR. PRIDEAUX TO HIS SISTER, MRS. ANNE COFFIN.

"26 Dec., 1690. . . . Sir John Johnston, that was confederate in the stealing of Mrs. Wharton, on Tuesday last was carried in a large mourning coach to Tyburne, the herse following the coach to receive the corps after execution. He made a strenuous speech at the gallows; such it seemes, that proved so insinuating to the foolish mob, as to draw tears from their eyes, insomuch as I was told by some, that a little prompting would almost have prevayled with them for a rescue; which seems credible, in regard they afterwards offered violence to Mrs. Wharton's lodgings, by breaking the windows, &c. But the next night, about 7 of the clock, hee was carryed from Fleet Street in a herse, attended by 30 coaches, to St. Giles, to be interred, & its sayd the Earl of Arguiles immediately followed the herse."—*MSS. of J. R. Pine Coffin, App. to 5th Rep.*, 380-84.

It will be a pleasure to read of an orthodox and zealous Tory who loved his enemies to such a point of Christian perfection that he was sorry to see even a "whigue" hanged--except *pour encourager les autres.*

9 JUNE, 1683. GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

After urging that the sentence of hanging should be carried out on a man who had been "actually in rebellion & continued in the state for four years," he adds: "I am sorry to see a man day [die], even a whigue, as any of them selfs; but when on days [one dies] for his owen faults, & may sawe a hundred to fall in the lyk, I have no scrupull."—*MSS. of the Earl of Aberdeen, App. to 5th Rep.*, 609.

Branding was a common punishment for theft. Considering that hanging was the punishment for sheep-stealing, one would have expected the crime of stealing valuable jewels to meet with at least an equally stern punishment.

JOHN CHARLTON TO LADY GRANBY.

"1703, Nov. 11. . . . You wish to hear an account of Lady Herbert finding her jewels. When I saw her, she was so engaged at hazard that I could not ask her. All I know is that one who was her coachman took them from her. She found all in his possession except two diamonds & these she got again from one that had bought them for very little. She found her jewels, tried the man and had him burned in the cheek, all in three days."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. ii., 12th Rep., App., Part V.*, 177.

No undue lenity was shown to the crime of libel.

"1610, May 4. Statement of the offence & of the punishments awarded in the Star Chamber in the case of Henry, Earl of Lincoln, against Sir Edward Dymock & others, for contriving & acting a stage play on a Sabbath day, upon a Maypole green near Sir Edward Dymock's house, containing scurrilous and slanderous matter against the said Earl by name; & after the play ended one of the defaulters dressed like a minister went up into a pulpit attached to the Maypole, with a book in his hands, & did most profanely, in derision of the holy exercise of preaching, pronounce vain and scurrilous matter, and afterwards affixed to the Maypole an infamous libel against the said Earl. Punishments: the Roger Baynere, John Craddock, & Marmaduke Dickenson, being the chief actors, be committed to the Fleet, led through Westminster Hall with papers, & there be set on the pillory, & afterwards to be whipped under the pillory; also to be set in the pillory at the assizes in Lincolnshire & acknowledge their offences, & ask God & the Earl forgiveness, & then to be whipped under the pillory, & to pay £300 a piece fine, & be bound to good behaviour before enlargement. The Sir Edward Dymock who was privy & consenting to the offences aforesaid be committed to the Fleet during the King's pleasure & pay £1,000 fine."—*MSS. of the Duke of Northumberland, App. to 3rd Rep.*, 57.

Here is something like an apology, which a libeller was once compelled to sign :—

"1667, 18 Feb. Know all men to whome these presents shall come yt I John Chanlor of Leverpooll in ye County of Lancaster a pretended gentellman but in truith a most notorious knave doe confesse before God & Angells yt I have most injurously wronged Edw. Moore of Bankhall Esq. by procuring Rich. Hockenhull of Prenton Esq. when he was in excesse of drinke, to set his hand without reding it over to a most notorous fallshod & scandolus libell against the sd Ed. Moore, wch sd libell afterwards I sealed up & sent it diricted for Carell Mullinex Viscount Marinbourke in Ireland otherwise caled Lord Mullinex of Croxteth. For wh. I doe here by in ye presents of all nations desire God & ye sd Ed. More forgivenesse for the desention I have thereby endeavoured to make betwext him ye abovesd Edw. More & ye abovesd Lord Mullinex &c. &c." "The above is in Edward Moore's writing."—*MSS. of Capt. Stewart*, 10*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IV.*, 112.

It is well known that no Englishman ought to wear a decoration, given to him by a foreign monarch, without the leave of his own sovereign; but, if he does so, he does not expose himself to punishment. It was a different matter in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Richard Broughton to . . . Richard Bagot.

"1594, May 27. . . . Sir Anthony Shirly . . . & Sir Nicholas Clifford were both committed to the Fleet by Her Majesty's commandment, for that they

did take the order of knighthood of St. Michael at the French King's hands. . . . The French Ambassador, for His Majesty's credit, saith that when Montmorencie & others of France took the order of Knighthood of St. George, the Kings of France were not displeased."—*MSS. of Lord Bagot, App. to 4th Rep.*, 336.

The Kings of France may have been more lenient than the monarchs of England on this particular point; but on others they were less so.

RICHARD HAKLUYT TO SIR THOMAS HENEAGE.

"1588, Aug. 1, Paris. . . . Your honor hath hard of likelyhood of the execucon of the Prynces of Condy which was beheaded at John de Angeli about xviij dayes synce; her owne brother Mounter de Trymonith (Tremouille) beinge of her owne desier present. A steward was fastned armes & legges with great spyke nayles to a cuple of trees & so myserably ended his life; a page was broken alyve every joynt uppon the whele; an old gentlewoman was rolled in a vessell of nayles & afterward ether hanged or burnte. A yonge maide was first extreamely whipped & afterward condened to pyne awaye with a sufficient quantity of bread & water."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. i., 12th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 257.

Here are some curious rules made, probably about the year 1603, for the enforcement of military discipline in the town of Hoogstraten.

"That he that shall sell or take away his armes or furniture shall have the strapado three times."

[The strappado consisted "in having the hands of the offender tied behind his back, drawing him up by them by a rope, and then suddenly letting him drop."—Annandale's *Concise Dictionary.*]

"He that shall not appeare upon the soundinge of the allarum, shall have a certain [1] of bastinadoes."

"Those that shall steale, be it never so small a thinge, shall be shott to death with harquebuse."

"Those that shall fly or runn away, shalbe hanged."

"Those that shall sweare, shalbe hanged in a baskett under a gibett by the space of 24 houres, without meate or drinke."

"He that shall play at cardes, or such like, shalbe hanged in a basquett as above."

"Those that shall eyther fight or drawe theyr weapons amongst themselves, shall pass the pikes [2] till they be deade."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. i., 12th Rep., App., Part IV.*, 392-93.

Among the troubles of the eighteenth century, other than punishments, was the widespread ruin caused by the sudden fall in value of South Sea Stock, commonly called the Bursting of the South Sea Bubble. At one time it had been run up to an enormous premium.

[1] "Centain"?

[2] Probably running between two rows of pikemen.

1720, No Month. James Windham to Ashe Windham.

"I grow rich so fast that I like stock jobbing of all things. . . . Since the South Sea have declared what they give to the annuitants Stock has risen vastly. South Sea has this day been 460; they offer 50 per cent. for the refusal at 450 for the opening. I think it will be 500 before the shutting, I mean the stock."

Later in the same year James Windham's shares in the South Sea Bubble were not quite so valuable.

1720, Nov. 26, London. William Windham to His Brother, Ashe Windham.

"Poor Jimmy's affairs are most irretrievable & as to the misery which I think will attend this affair we do not see the 100th part. Almost all one knows or sees are upon the very brink of destruction, & these who were reckoned to have done well yesterday are found stark nought to-day. These devills of directors have ruined more men's fortunes in this world, than I hope old Belzebub will do souls for the next."

On Jan. 5, in the following year, "Poor Jimmy" himself wrote again to Ashe Windham:—

"The directors have brought themselves into bankruptcy by being cunning, artful knaves; I have come into the same state for being a very silly fool."—*MSS. of R. W. Ketton*, 200, 201. *Hist. Com.*, *12th Rep.*, *Part IX.*, *App.*

Lord Cardigan, not content with his losses in South Sea Stock, added losses by gambling.

THE EARL OF CARDIGAN TO LORD GOWER.

"1720, Aug. 28, Blenheim. . . . Congratulates him upon the birth of a daughter who will want a fortune if South Sea continues to fall; he is almost frightened out of his little senses not knowing the true occasion of the fall; asks Lord Gower's advice whether to stand it or sell out.—I am got to Ombre every day, & lose my money as fast as I do in the South Sea."—*MSS. of the Duke of Sutherland, App. to 5th Rep.*, 189.

As in all other ages, much of men's troubles, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was owing to their quarrels. Happily, these were sometimes settled by arbitration.

20 HENRY VII., SEP. 4 [1505]. AWARD OF ROBERT WILUGHBY, LORD BROKE, SIR HUMPHREY FULFORD, KNIGHT, AND THOMAS COTERELL, ESQUIRE, ARBITRATORS BETWEEN SIR EDWARD POMEREY, KNIGHT, ON THE ONE PART, AND GEOFFREY HAUKEWELL, THE MAYOR OF TOTNES, AND HIS BRETHREN, AND THE INHABITANTS OF TOTNES ON THE OTHER.

"The arbitrators award that 'the said Sir Edward Pomerey shall clerely exclude, forgeve, & put from him all malice or debates, at any time had or moved betwene him & the maiour, his brethern, and inhabitantes of the said towne of Totneys, & from hensforth to be loving unto theym, & in like wise the maiour,

his brethern, & the inhabitants forsaid shall exclude, forgeve, and put from theym all rancour, malice, or debates at any time heretofor had or susteyned between theym & the said Sir Edward, & fromhensforth to be luving unto him in good & due manour, according to their dutie. And either parties clerely to forgeve other of the premisses, & for the encrease of more profit, love, & continuance of the same between the two parties, we, the said arbitours, award that the said Sir Edward shall geve unto the maiour & his brethern a buck of this season, to be eton at Totnes upon Wenysday next after the fest of the Nativitie of Our Blessed Lady next ensuyng the date herof or afore. Provided that the same Sir Edward be at the etyng of the same bucke, in goodly manner. Furthermore we award that the said maiour & his brethern shal paye for the wyne which shall be dronk at the etyng of the same bucke.'"

The arbitrators then make their award as to the business details of the dispute.—*MSS. of the Duke of Somerset*, 144-45.

The Lord Chamberlain put a stop to a quarrel in the next instance.

STATEMENT OF [CHARLES YELVERTON] AS TO WHAT PASSED BETWEEN HIM AND SIR WILLIAM CORNWALLIS ON THURSDAY, 15 JAN. [1599], IN THE PRESENCE CHAMBER.

"drawinge him privatlie toe the cubbord I used thies words followinge:—

"Sir Will. Cornewaleis, I have your father in chasse for foule delings, & if I be nott able to make good proffe thereof, he hathe remedie agenst me by lawe. In the mean space I wishe you forbeare toe give me evell reportts, holdinge it unresonable that your father should robbe me of my patrimonie & you of my good name.

"This knight flinginge from me replied I was madd. This beinge spoken with a loude voyce I followed him, intendinge toe have iterated my speeches in the hearinge of Sir Rob. Duddelie & Sir Rob. Crosse, therby to have cleared myself of that imputacon; but beinge interrupted by Sir Wm. Cornewallies, whoe, shuffing me from him with his hand, used theis words:—

"'Awaye, thou art madd; thou art a beggare; thou arte unworthy to speak of my father; thou art unworthy the Queen's service; I keep better men then thou arte; awaye, I will beate the.'"

"My replie was, 'Sir knight, had I you out of this place I would pluke that periwigge of your pockie pate.'"

"This was the forme of our speeches."

The statement continues: "Thereupon [Yelverton] writes to know when the knight would beat him, as he would not fail to keep any appointment he would make; but is ordered by the Lord Chamberlain to forbear the Court and keep his lodging; 'since which tyme I remayned a prisoner ther.' The name of the writer is learned from a judgment dated 11 June,

1599, in which a complaint of Charles Yelverton against Sir Thomas Cornwallis for breach of trust is altogether dismissed."—*Bridgewater MSS.*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VII.*, 158.

John Pym, in his quaint Note-Book, recounts one duel and the prevention of two duels. It is remarkable, in the second of these, that, although a duellist who killed his adversary was liable to be arrested and punished, a question of an Earl being bound to accept a challenge from a commoner "of three descents" was argued by the heralds before the Council.

A SMALL NOTE-BOOK, UNBOUND, ENTITLED *MEMORABLE ACCIDENTS* . . . BY JOHN PYM.

"A.D. 1614. Sir Edwarde Sackvill brother to the Erle of Dorset killed the Lorde Burse beyond the seas in single fight. The Erle of Montgomery was lasht with a riding rod by one Mr. Ramsey a Scotchman, but I think twas taken up by the King, & the Erle well rewarded by the King for his patience."

. . . . . .

"[A.D. 1616.] Mr. Palmer sent a challenge to the Erle of Sussex by Mr. Manwaringe & L. Huntley & others being with him upon St. George's daye as he was going to the tilte yeards; he received it; the busines was hearde before the Councell & there argued by the haroldes, & agreed upon that a gentleman of three descents might challenge an Erle & he

was bound upon point of honour to answere him, but because this was done upon St. George's daye when the Erle was as it were a companion to the Kinge, therefor Mr. Palmer was put into the towre, & I think fined £300."—*MSS. of Philip Pleydell Bouverie*, 10*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VI.*, 97.

It is cheap valour to challenge an enemy, in our own days, in England; because it is impossible to fight a duel here; and even in the seventeenth century challenges were sometimes given where there could be no fighting; but in the case about to be mentioned the challenger was punished.

1639, Aug. 2. Nicholas Herman to the Earl of Middlesex.

". . . Mr. Carew Rawleigh attending His Majesty at the fall of [a stag] in the forest of Oatlands, at his return, in the presence of Sir Wm. St. Raveé, told the King that the deere had but two or three [horns], wheras he had four or five; which hornes had like to have cost blood in His Majesty's Court; for in a dispute about the hornes, Mr. Rawlegh, in the presence of divers in the outer Court of Oatlands, strooke & drew on St. Raveé, where 'twas not possible he should receive any hurt by fighting; for which Mr. Rawlegh has been in the Fleet ever since this day sennight, & this day discharged on a bond of £1,000 and two sureties for good behaviour and not to come within the Verge, but only to make his appearance

in the Court of Honor next term."—*MSS. of Earl de la Warr, App. to 4th Rep.*, 294.

Imprisonment at their own homes was a not very uncommon method of preventing quarrellers from coming to blows.

THE MARQUESS OF WORCESTER TO THE MARCHIONESS.

"1678, Nov. 28. A quarrel yesterday betwixt my Lord of Pembroke & Lord Dorset took up a great deale of our time, but judging Lord of Pembroke[1] to have bin in the wrong, wee inclined to confine him to his house at Wilton, which hee of himself desired leave to go to, which is a punishment I envy, & should go neere to commit a fault so I knew a confinement to Badminton should bee my sentence."—*MSS. of the Duke of Beaufort*, 74.

LORD COVENTRY TO ——.

"1702, Dec. 10. . . . Last night after four days debate the Bill passed, after which some other debates arising, the Duke of Leeds told Lord Halifax publickly in the House that his family was raised by rebellion but his own suffered by it. Upon which at the rising of the House a challenge was given, but being overheard, the House have put a stop to further mischief by confining Lord Halifax to his own house under custody of the Black Rod. . . . The Duke of Leeds is withdrawn, & not at present to be found."—*MSS. of the Duke of Beaufort*, 96.

[1] Philip, seventh Earl, who married Henrietta de Querouaille, youngest sister of the notorious Duchess of Portsmouth.

Yet the prevention of quarrels from developing into duels seems to have been rather the exception than the rule. Plenty of duels are recorded in the *Reports;* among others the following:—

THOMAS EDWARDS TO THE EARL OF RUTLAND, AT THE EAGLE.

"1557, April 16. . . . An hour before your letter came, young lusty Smythe, whose mother was sister to the Duke of Somerset, met Thomas Cobham & George, & upon an old quarrel George & he fought. As I heard, George hurt him in the arm & they were put asunder. 'By & by upon moltyplying wordes, Thomas Cobham & Smythe went to yt agayne, &, as I harde, Smythe made Cobham gyve growende, & in the end Thomas Cobham haste a pryke at hym & hyte hem in the flanke in the nether ende of the bely, soo that no man can tell whether he wyll lyve or dy. And ether Cobham is flede to sentuery (sanctuary) or else is gone.'"—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 12*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IV.*, 68.

In the next letter we shall see, as in others to follow, that the seconds, as well as the principals, usually fought in the duels of the seventeenth century.

16—, SEP. 4, AMIENS. R. N. TO ANDREW (NEWPORT).

"I met with a captain of Lord Newburgh's regiment in Calais, who told me that he was fled thence three days from Newport, for having killed Lord

Newburg in the streets; the occasion given was that his Lordship struck at him with a cudgel; but the fellow is a senseless officer, which makes me hope his relation is false. The next day I saw a relation of a quarrel under my [Lord Taa]ffe's hand between him & a Scotchman of my acquaintance, one Sir William Keith; the dispute was only for three royals & a half at tennis. Sir Wm. Keith was slain upon the place; upon this great occasion also were engaged four persons besides the principals. Upon Taffe's side Dick Talbot fought & wounded Dick Hopton in two places; & on Taffe's side again one Davis fought with Sir William Fleming, but no hurt done." —*MSS. of the Duke of Sutherland, App. to 5th Rep.*, 146-47.

NEWS LETTER.

"[1644], November. Dublin, Nov. 9, upon a difference between Col. Demsey & Mr. Lutterell, they went into the field, the former having for his second one MacAvering, the other Ensign Buckley. The principals, after some passes, parted without harm, but the seconds engaged were both wounded, but Buckley more dangerously, though 'tis hoped not mortally."—*MSS. of J. M. Heathcote, Esq., Conington Castle*, 170.

We have next the first duel to be noticed here, fought with pistols, although swords were used also. And it seems to have been fought on horseback, as one combatant is reported to

have "fallen down by the fear of his horse." Probably, when the rider fired his pistol, his horse kicked him off. There were only two duellists on each side, yet one combatant "at the first discharge . . . received five bullets into his arm." One would naturally like to know how many bullets were usually put into one barrel of a pistol at that period.

RENÉ AUGIER TO CHARLES GREENE.

"1646-7, Jan. 4, new style, Paris. . . . Last Wednesday about three o'clock in the afternoon, a bloody duel was fought on horseback two leagues from hence upon the way of Pont de Neuilly in the forest of Boulogne between four officers who formerly followed the King of England's party viz. Colonel Sir Thomas Sandys, Monsieur de St. Michel. . . . Colonel Ambrose Jennings, second to the said Sandys, & Mr. Wittfield, Scotchman . . . second to the said St. Michel. Their quarrel was because St. Michel won some sixty pistoles to Sandys who refused to pay, yea & to give him a bill in writing, alleging in derision that he could not write. Thereupon the said St. Michel did challenge him, & being come to the rendezvous with their seconds, having charged their pistols one before the other, at the first discharge Colonel Sandys received five bullets into his arm, St. Michel hurt & fallen down by the fear of his horse, in raising himself struck with his sword the same Colonel in the arm, & both the seconds did

so well pistol one another that a few hours after they died both."—*MSS. of the Duke of Portland, vol. iii., 14th Rep., App., Part II.*, 150.

1652, MAY 12. THE EARL OF NORTHAMPTON TO THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

"Concerning the unfortunate fate of his cousin Henry Compton, slain in a duel by Lord Shandoys.[1] They did fight three to three, Lord Sandoys, Lord Arundel of Wardour,[2] & Mr. Hatton Riche on one side, his cousins Henry & John Compton, & one Mr. Stuart Walker on the other; the survivors were all fled."—*MSS. of Lord Hothfield, Rep. II., App., Part VII.*, 84.

Very often, however, seventeenth-century duels were fought without any seconds at all.

FROM WILLIAM SMITH TO SIR R. LEVESON.

"1660, Oct. 12, Drury Lane. . . . Sir Michael Livesey of Kent (another of the murderers),—that is of King Charles I.—being gotten into the Low Countries, was met by a gentleman whom he had formerly highly abused in Kent, who, demanding satisfaction of Sir Michael, the knight refused to own his name; whereupon the gentleman required him to draw, else he would run him through the body; Sir Michael did so, but was soon disarmed; whereat

[1] Probably William, sixth Baron Sandys.

[2] He suffered five years' imprisonment on the charge of Titus Oates, in the reign of Charles II.; but became Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in the reign of James II.

the people coming in & demanding the cause of their quarrel, the gentleman said, That was one of the murderers of the King: the Dutch boors, without further examination, cut Sir Michael in pieces, & trod his body into dust."—*MSS. of the Duke of Sutherland, App. to 5th Rep.*, 174.

In the seventeenth century duels were not exclusively fought by men of high degree. Here is an account of a duel between cooks; and that, not over a culinary dispute, but about international politics.

ANDREW NEWPORT TO SIR RICHARD LEVESON.

"1661, April 2. . . . The discourse that is of the King's marriage inclines yet to the Portugais side, the chief difficulty in it is whether the conditions offer'd will ballance the consideration of a war with Spain & the Low Countries against one in Portugal, against the other in the Indyes. I must not omit to acquaint you with the late bloody battle fought upon this quarrell betwixt four cooks of the two several factions in which one was killed & the rest very much wounded. The King's cook (a French man) was kill'd, the others belong'd to the Spanish Embassadour, my Lord Bedford, & Lord Ossory."—*Ibid.*, 160.

In the seventeenth century, when duels were frequently fought without notice, the chances of victory, all else being equal, lay with the combatant who had the best sword by his side, and

either a buff leather coat on, or else armour beneath his doublet. In society, or when any danger of a duel was very unlikely, light swords, such as those called in the following letter "only the usual bodkins," were often worn.

1662, Aug. 21. Dr. Wm. Denton to Sir R. Verney.

"On Monday Tom Howard,[1] brother to the Earl of Carlisle, & Mr. Dillon, brother to Lord Dillon, accosted H. Germaine & Giles Rawlins, drew upon them before —— door, coming from the tennis court, & Tom slew Giles dead in the place, & after that fell on Harry, & wounded him in 3 or 4 places, which prove but slight hurts; which done, Tom said, 'Now we have done justice, let's be gone,' & having their horses hard by, with pistols at the saddle-bow, they presently fled, & its thought that Howard had some hurt, for he was seen to bear himself up on his pummell. The quarrel, it is said, was between Howard & German, about Lady Shrewsbury. It is also said that Howard was in buff,[2] & that he cut off the heels of his boots, & so came fully prepared, & took the other unawares, who, because they had only the usual bodkins, desired but their footmen's swords, but had them not; & yet Rawlins thrust so home that he bent his sword at the hilt, but buff or other

[1] Five years later the same writer to the same correspondent says: "Tom Howard *cum multis aliis*, turned out of the Guards as Papists. His lady made groom of the stole in Guilford's place who is dead."

[2] *I.e.*, leather.

armour would not suffer entrance. Dillon fought carelessly, as if willing neither to hurt nor be hurt, it being none of his quarrel."—*MSS. of Sir H. Verney, App. to 7th Rep.*, 484.

Lady Shrewsbury became the subject of another duel some five years later. Scandal having coupled her name with that of the Duke of Buckingham, Shrewsbury, naturally a peaceable, easy-going man, was impelled, much against his inclination, to send a challenge to Buckingham. Wm. Denton thus describes the duel [1] in a letter to Sir H. Verney :—

"$166\frac{7}{8}$, Jan. 23. The Duke of Bucks & his two seconds, Sir Robert Holmes & Jenkins, fought Lord Shrewsbury & his two seconds, Barnard Howard & Sir Gil. Talbot. Shrewsbury is run thro' the breast, but hope he will do well. B. Howard behaved himself bravely. The Duke coming to relieve Jenkins, who had then no hurt, & making a pass at Howard, with one hand he put by the Duke's sword, & with the other ran furiously at Jenkins & killed him. Talbot hath two wounds in one arm. Bucks, Holmes, & Howard, (who is fled into France) only three scratches."

[1] This duel took place at Barn Elms on Jan. 16, 1668. In a letter to Waller, St. Evremond stated that Lady Shrewsbury, who is said to have held Buckingham's horse during the duel, disguised as a page, "had pistols concealed, and that she pledged her honour to shoot both Shrewsbury and herself if her husband proved victorious."

On March 19, 1668, Denton wrote to Verney: "Shrewsbury is dead."—*MSS. of Sir H. Verney, App. to 7th Rep.*, 486.

The very irregular combat, described in the next extract, can scarcely be called a duel.

1667, JULY 25. WM. DENTON TO SIR R. VERNEY.

"H. Killigrew[1] being in the next box to the Duke of Buckingham at a play drolled with him & made fun at him, & spake scurvy language to him, insomuch that the Duke told him he might govern his tongue & his face better. Killigrew went out of the box, & would have had one Vaughan to have carried him a challenge; but he refusing to do it in that place, he returned & stroke the Duke twice on the head with his sword in the scabbard, & then ran away most nobly over the boxes & forms, & the Duke after him, & cut him well favourdly, he crying, 'Good, your Grace, spare my life,' & fell down, some say to beg for his life, but certainly the Duke kicked him. The Duke lost his wig in the pursuit for a while."—*Ibid.*

Here was a duel about an actress.

1675, AUG. 20. JOHN VERNEY TO SIR RALPH VERNEY.

"On Saturday last, at the Duke's playhouses, Sir Tho. Armstrong killed Mr. Scrope (second son of Lady Scrope, the courtier). Their quarrel is said to (be) about Mrs. Uphill, the player, who came into

[1] Son of Charles the second's well-known courtier and playfellow, Tom Killigrew.

that house maskt, & Scrope would have entertained discourse with her, which Sir T. Armstrong would not suffer, so a ring was made wherein they fought. But Sir T. Armstrong took half a dozen gentlemen to bail him to Sir Thomas Bridges, & surrendered himself a prisoner, where he gave the account following, that Scrope owed him a grudge a long time, & happening to sit by each other in the playhouse, struck him over the shins with a cane twice, which, when Sir T. Armstrong desired him to forbear, he swore 'Fight me then,' & went out, but seeing Sir T. Armstrong did not follow him, he returned & drew upon Sir Thomas, who at the first pass killed him.—Sir Thomas Bridges advises him not to surrender but go home & not absent himself. Sir Thomas Bridges was blamed for this. It was not the first man that Sir T. Armstrong[1] had killed."—*MSS. of Sir H. Verney*, *App. to 7th Rep.*, 465.

In letters describing duels, we find little of the chivalry of the knights of old; but it was displayed on some occasions.

DR. WM. DENTON TO SIR R. VERNEY.

"1676, April 20. . . . James Herbert lost his cause. Pembroke treated the jury, where every one was afraid to sit next to him, but at last Sir Fr.

[1] Nine years later Sir Thomas Armstrong was hanged at Tyburn; but not for duelling. John Verney writes: "He died very bravely. Dr. Tenison was his divine." The same MSS., p. 481.

Vincent did; at last my Lord began a small health of two bottles, which Sir Francis refusing to pledge, dash went a bottle at his head, & as it is said, broke it. They being parted, Sir Francis was getting into a coach, & alarm arising that my Lord was coming with his sword drawn, Sir Francis refused to enter saying he was never afraid of a naked sword in his life; & come he did, & at a pass my Lord brake his sword; at which Sir Francis cried he scorned to take the advantage, & then threw away his own sword & flew at him fiercely, beat him, & daubed him daintily, & so were parted; a footman of my Lord followed mischievously Sir Francis into a boat, & him Sir Francis threw into the Thames. Two more were coming with like intention, but some red coats knowing Sir Francis drew in his defence, & I hear no more of it."—*MSS. of Sir H. Verney, App. to 7th Rep.*, 493.

The following must have been a very lively encounter:—

1677, Dec. 6. John Verney to Edmund Verney.

"On Tuesday last a duel was fought between the Earl of Ossory & his second Col. Macharly against Mr. Buckley & Mr. Gerard (son of the lord of that name). The Colonel had the fortune to wound Mr. Gerard in the belly, but drawing back his sword, 'twas twirled out of his hand by his adversary, who took it up & then went to the Earl, who, finding himself set on by two, was fain on demand to give up his sword."—*Ibid.*, 469.

In the next fight, both the principal and his second, on one side, were badly wounded.

WILL. CHAPMAN TO THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

"[16]83, May 18. A duel was fought near Chelsey & this morning by Lieut. Col. Cannon & Major Steward, the seconds being Capt. Cunningham, of the same regiment, & Captain Parker. All is well with Major Steward & Captain Parker, but Cunningham is very ill wounded & had the ill luck to come from Holland but the day before. Cannon is in the same case, but not quite so bad."—*MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu*, 185.

The "last Wednesday" mentioned in the next letter would have been a day exactly after the heart of Sir Lucius O'Trigger.

1682, JUNE 5. JOHN VERNEY TO EDMUND VERNEY.

"Last Wednesday were fought two duels, viz. the Duke of Albemarle & Sir Walter Clarges against Lord Gray & Col. Godfrey. This last disarmed Sir Walter & ran to join his principal, swearing to the Duke that unless he delivered his sword he'd run him into the guts. There being no remedy, (being two to one) the Duke delivered; here the Wh: [Whig] had the better on't. The occasion was this, Gray being in a gunsmith's shop took up a gun which had much work on it, & said, 'What fool owns this?' or to that purpose. The gun was

Albemarle's, one of whose footmen being told by the Duke, on which a challenge was sent. Two days after three blades came into the Wh's coffee-house, & sat down by Lord Colchester, Sir Tho. Armstrong, & several others, & talked much of Albemarle's gallantry; but this discourse not being regarded, they rose, & going out one of the three turned & said, if any there spoke reflectingly of the Duke, of his carriage in the late duel, he gave them the lie, & swore they three would fight any three of them, but the Wh. let them go away without answering them.—The other duel was between Sir Justinian Isham & Mr. Vincent (son to Sir Francis); the latter I hear was wounded . . . & they say will be called to account for fighting within the King's Park."

1682, JUNE 12. THE SAME TO THE SAME:

"Last week a duel was fought between Mr. Babor & Mr. Kirke, both were wounded. . . . Sir Justinian Isham & Mr. Vicent were tried; it did not appear but that they fought without the park, in the fields."—*MSS. of Sir Harry Verney, App. to 7th Rep.*, 479-80.

It was not often that both antagonists reached each other with the points of their swords at the same moment; but here is an instance of it. It is now technically known as a "coup double," and, perhaps, more often than not, it is and was the result of poor swordsmanship.

PEREGRINE BERTIE TO [THE COUNTESS OF RUTLAND].

"[1685-6] Feb. 2. . . . I jest now heare of a great misfortune which has happened this morning, & will certainly put of the ball; 'tis that the Duke of Grafton[1] & Jacke Talbot fought this morning in Chelsey Fields about some words that passed last night. Poore Mr. Talbot was runne through the heart & felle dead upon the place, the Duke saved by a little buckle belonging to his belt, or some little picture that hee wore about him. It seems they both thrust att the same time, Mr. Talbot's sword hitting on the buckle missed going through the Duke's body & ripped upp all his side. Duncombe was second to my Lord Grafton & Fitzpatrick to Mr. Talbot. I hear Duncombe is wounded, but however, they say they are all fled."

THE SAME TO THE SAME, FOUR DAYS LATER.

". . . Wee have yet noe news of his Grace, nor of the seconds; some say they are all gone in his own yacht for France, but most think they bee privately in Towne. Harry Whorton who had parted them but for the falling of his horse had that night the ill fortune to kill an Irishman who was Lieutenant in the same regiment. They fell out at supper, & the man who is killed struck him twice before he drew, soe that hee cannot fail of coming of very well."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. ii., 12th Rep., App., Part V.*, 102-3.

[1] Second son of Barbara Villiers (Duchess of Cleveland) and Charles II.

It must have been very unsatisfactory to be killed in a duel, through a failure to deliver a message about some roast beef.

R[OGER] H[ERBERT] TO THE COUNTESS OF RUTLAND.

"1688, May 8, London. . . . On Friday night last Sir Charles Pymm, a young gentleman of a good reputation, had the ill fortune to be killed at the Swan Taverne in Fish Street by one Mr. Waters. If your Ladyship have not heard the story it will not be improper for me to relate it, which was thus: Sir Charles & one other gentlman went into the Kitchen, & see a peece of beefe at the fire, & said they would be glad to have some of that beef. Mr. Cloudseley, the master of the tavern, told them it was bespoke, but he would endeavour to get them some of it, & when it was carryed to the gentlemen that had bespoke it, Mr. Cloudsley told them how it was, & they very willingly sent downe some of it to Sir Charles & the other gentleman & they ordered the drawer to give them their thanks for it, which he neglected to do, though some will have it that they paid the master of the tavern for it, but that was not so; but however it so fell out that these two companys went away together, & those that first bespoke the beef asked the other company how they liked the beef, & Sir Charles asked what they meant by it, & they replied sure it was worth thankes, upon which Sir Charles said they had sent their thanks before. The other contradicted it, & so

one word brought in another till they both drew, & Sir Charles was killed presently, & the other gentleman that killed him was run through the thigh, & so the rest were carried before my Lord Mayor, & afterwards committed."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. ii., 12th Rep., App., Part V.*, 118.

There are several notices of duels between relations, and also between connections by marriage —*Foes In Law*, as a clever novelist has described them.

DR. PRIDEAUX TO ANN COFFIN.

"27 Feb., 1696 (7). . . . Since my last, one Mr. Dekins, who marryed Sir —— Bucknall the great brewer's widdow, fought in Hyde Park a duell with his son-in-law, Mr. Bucknall, & killed him; Dekins is in custody."—*MSS. of J. R. Pine Coffin, App. to 5th Rep.*, 386.

DR. PRIDEAUX TO ANN COFFIN.

"11 Dec., 1692. . . . This week hath bin boystrous & tempestuous for the most part; & hath had its sutable effect on mens minds, for there have bin 3 or 4 duells fought here, within 3 or 4 days, viz.— The Lord of Banbury[1] fought with his brother in law,

[1] The legitimacy of this Lord Banbury's father having been questioned, the "history of this is one of the most curious in the whole record of peerage claims" (Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Peerages*). The duel here mentioned placed Lord Banbury's "right to the peerage in a different point of view, and raised a new question upon it." The account of all this, in the work quoted (page 307), is well worth reading.

Captain Lawson, & killed him, & is now on his tryall at the old Bayly. Also, one Young, a young clerk, fought with another clerk, one Graham, of Clifford's Inn, the later was killed; & yesterday the Lord Mohun [1] fought with a player, & killed him."—*MSS. of J. R. Pine Coffin*, 383.

One wonders whether the following hostile encounter took place in Leap Year.

[1] The unfortunate man here mentioned as "a player" was no less a personage than the famous Will Mountfort (more properly Mountford), gentleman, indifferent playwright and brilliant actor in the parts of fops, lovers and young heroes of tragedy. He was also a first-rate mimic, and his powers in this line, wrote Dr. Doran in his *Annals of the English Stage*, "won for him the not too valuable patronage of Judge Jeffries." Dr. Doran's account of the duel (?) in which Mountfort was killed is none too impartial to Lord Mohun; perhaps he was influenced by a natural admiration for the talents of Mountfort, "the hero of a brief hour." The facts, however, appear to be that on the night of the 9th December, 1692, Charles Lord Mohun was implicated in a ruffianly attempt by one Captain Richard Hill to carry off the famed actress Mrs. Bracegirdle. The attempt failed, and it was after the failure that Mountfort who, like Mrs. Bracegirdle, lived in Howard Street, Strand, was involved in a brawl with Lord Mohun and with Captain Hill who killed him with a sword-thrust. Hill fled from England but Lord Mohun surrendered to the watch, stood his trial for murder by his peers and was acquitted by a majority of 69 to 14. The fact that Lord Macaulay denounced the decision as "a public scandal" may set some readers to thinking that it was probably just. An excellent account of the whole affair is given in Dutton Cook's *Hours with the Players*, vol. i., cap. i.

Lord Mohun was killed on the spot on the 15th Nov., 1712, in a duel with small swords fought in Hyde Park between himself and the Duke of Hamilton, who died of his wounds while being carried to his coach.

DR. PRIDEAUX TO ANN COFFIN.

"7 Aug., 1697. . . . Here goes a comecall relation of a strange match between Lady Kingston, a widdow to the Lord Kingston, an Irish lord, & a leiftenant of the King's foot; that she, having a mynd to marry him, sent him a challenge to meet at a tyme & place to fight, not naming the challenger, & hee coming there, tho' she was unknowne to him; & looking about for the challenger, at last saw a lady in a mask, who told him she was the person hee looked for, & then told him the occasion, & after some discourse carried him off in her ca[rriage], & in a very few howers marryed him; & its sayd, hath 1500 li. per annum estate, & worth 10,000 li. in money."—*MSS. of J. R. Pine Coffin, App. to 5th Rep.*, 387.

Hasty duels, fought on the spot, in night quarrels, were common.

LORD COVENTRY TO ——.

"1702, Dec. 17, London. . . . Ned Goodyear has killed Beau Feilding as tis reported, & made his escape. The quarrel began at the Playhouse in Drury Lane. The same night a Captain here in town did the like friendly office for young Fullwood, so that there will be two Warwickshire beaus the fewer. The Captain is in Newgate."—*MSS. of the Duke of Beaufort*, 96.

We have next a case, and a very unusual one, of a man going into the bedroom of another to ask his pardon, and, instead of obtaining it, being forced to fight him there and then.

J[AMES?] W[ARD?] TO RICHARD WARD.

"1730-1, Jan. 15, Dublin."

This letter, after describing a carriage accident, in which "two young ladies, Miss Hawley & Miss Burford," were thrown into a river and drowned, goes on to say that Harry St. Lawrence, only brother of Lord Hoath, was "spending his Christmas at Killbrew, Mr. George's seat in the county of Meath, when the account came of this disaster, Mr. Hamilton Georges, brother of the gentleman of the house, said he heartily pitied his sister Lady Hoath who had lost so amiable a companion as Miss Burford, he knew not what she would do for company having nobody but that silly Miss Rice. St. Lawrence, who was uncle to this young lady & excessively fond of her, resented her being called silly; whereupon a quarrel ensued & after they had gone to bed Mr. Georges went to St. Lawrence's chamber to ask his pardon when St. Lawrence bounced out of bed & went to his pistols & bid Georges to take one, which he declined, & declared if they must fight, it were better in the morning, but St. Lawrence swore if he hesitated any longer he would shoot him through the head. Georges took a pistol & fired both balls hitting St. Lawrence who lived a few days after, luckily for Georges, as there was no third person in the room. The Lord Chief Justice has given Georges bail."—*MSS. of the Rev. Sir T. H. G. Puleston, Bart.*, 312-13.

The following duel was the outcome of gambling —next to women the most fruitful source of duelling.

1731, Nov. 3, Bath. The Earl of Orrery to [Lady Kaye].

"A duel that has been fought lately, between one Jones a gamester, & one Mr. Price (a gentleman's son but of the same profession too), has put us in great confusion. Price is killed, & Jones has made his escape."—*MSS. of the Earl of Dartmouth*, 11*th Rep., App., Part V.*

The law that made killing a man in a duel a fatal crime, in France, was carried out during part of the eighteenth century. How this law, combined with an untoward incident, placed a certain Col. McDonald in a very awkward, though not fatal, predicament, may be seen in the next letter.

"Case of Col. McDonald; in the time of Geo. I. Had served the late K. James in France, but was put on board a French ship to be exiled, on account of his killing a person in a duel; the ship was taken by Capt. Peddar, and, as being a prisoner on board, he was not condemned to suffer as a pirate, but was ordered to be exchanged; this cannot with safety be accepted, as he is liable to be tried for his life should he return to France; now, after nearly eight years

imprisonment in Newgate, he prays for release."—*Bridgewater MSS.*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VII.*, 139.

We have already had a duel between cooks: we shall now have one in which a gamekeeper was one of the combatants. He and his adversary fought with both firearms and swords. Beginning on horseback and then, having dismounted, continuing the battle on foot until one was killed, although the warriors were not men of high degree their contest had more in common with the jousts of the Knights of the Round Table than had most of the duels of the times in which it was fought.

GEO. ROSS TO FRANCIS PRICE.

"1733, April 13, Castle Lyons. This day sevenight, a bloody action happened in the neighbourhood of Mitchestown between one Newell, gamekeeper to Lord Kingston, & a son of the late Ned Raymond's, wherein the latter was slain. The cause of quarrel was about a greyhound, & so trivial as not worth naming. They entered the lists on horseback with sword & petronel, the former having discharged at & missed the latter, the other rid up to his breast but missed fire, whereupon he immediately dismounted & drew, as Newell did the like, & having made some sasas at each other, both received some slight wounds, but still the combat lasted, till at length one of Raymond's spurs got hold of his stockings,

whereby he fell on his face to the ground, at which the other stabbed him through the back, & not long after expired."—*MSS. of the Rev. Sir T. H. G. Puleston, Bart.*, 314.

When a youth fought a man past middle-age, the friends of the youth used afterwards to say how unfair it was that a mere boy should be confronted by an antagonist of experience and maturity, while the friends of the older man would point out the valour of their champion who, though elderly and inactive, fought a young man in the fulness of his youth and strength. Something of this sort was probably said by the friends of either party about the duel mentioned in the following letter:—

LORD ONSLOW TO HIS SON ABOUT "MY LATE LORD ONSLOW."

". . . He was, as to his outward person, tall & thin, not well shaped and with a face exceeding plain, yet there was a certain sweetness with a dignity in his countenance & so much of life & spirit in it that no one who saw him ever thought him of a disagreeable aspect. . . . The few quarrels he had were generally upon public disputes, & one that ended in a duel was for something he had said in the course of a debate in the House of Commons. The person who challenged him as it is imagined was put upon it by some of the party my Lord was thought to be opposite to, unhappily enough for his

reputation, he being at that time not two & twenty, & my Lord Onslow somewhat then advanced in years, who yet had the good fortune to disarm the young gentleman, & to bring away as much honour as a victory of that kind could give him. I mention this not to do any prejudice to the memory of Colonel Oglethorp, he was a youth of great expectation, & not long after this, was killed at the battle of Hochstet gallantly fighting for the glory of his country; but I have taken notice of it because it was a passage at that time much talked of & something in it not a little to my Lord Onslow's credit in that way."—*MSS. of the Earl of Onslow*, 490.

Concerning professional fighting there is so much in the *Reports* that, to deal with it adequately, a large volume, or rather several volumes, would have to be exclusively devoted to it; & exceedingly interesting they might be made. So large is the subject that it shall here be left practically untouched, beyond giving, for the army, a couple of extracts, which may possibly be of some slight interest to Guardsmen, with a long one describing a siege in 1643; and, for the navy, three very short extracts.

DR. PRIDEAUX TO HIS SISTER, MRS. ANN COFFIN.

"22 Aug., 1691. . . . This morning two granadere soldiers were shot to death in Hyde Park, according to martiall sentence, for mutynny against their officer,

a leiftenant."—*MSS. of J. R. Pine Coffin, App. to 5th Rep.*, 332.

[1713?] "ORDER FOR POSTING THE SENTINELS AT WINDSOR UPON THE BIRTHDAY." SENTINELS TO BE POSTED BY THE FOOT GUARDS.

"At the Castle :—

At the Iron Gate—a Sergeant & 12 men	12
In the Kitchen Court	4
At the stairs of the Green Cloth Tower	2
At the Ladies of the Bedchamber's Stairs	2
At the backstairs to the Gallery	2
At the Queen's backstairs	2
At Mrs. Danver's stairs	2
At the Keep	2
At the Old Council Chamber stairs	2
At the Maids of Honour's Stairs	2
At the Lord Treasurer's Stairs	2
At Mrs. Cooper's stairs	2
At Lord Masham's stairs	2
At the Green Cloth stairs	2
At the Bishop of Ossory's stairs	2
At the Lord Bolingbroke's Office stairs	2
	44

"At the Garden House. In the morning :—

At the fore door a Sergeant & 11 men	12
At the door to the Kitchen Court	6
At the Duchess of Somerset's door	2
	20

"As soon as the Company is dismissed at the Garden House:—

At the fore door	6
At the door to the Kitchen Court	4
At the Duchess of Somerset's door	2
	12

"A Subaltern Officer & 30 men to remain near the Garden House all day.

"The Guards at the Queen's Garden House & at the Iron Gate to keep the passage clear of ordinary people.

"The Sentinels at the several Stairs to keep the Stairs clear from any ordinary people that don't belong to the families there, & to be assistant to prevent any disorder."

Besides these, fifteen Yeomen of the Guard were to be posted at various staircases in the Castle, and five at staircases in the Garden House.—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. iii.*, 107-9.

The following is an account of the siege of Brampton Castle, which Lady Harley, the wife of Sir Robert Harley, K.C.B., defended against the King's troops during her husband's absence in London. Harley was in Parliament.

"1643, July 26. A true relation of the siege of Brampton Castle in the county of Hereford begun on July 26, 1643, being the public fast day. . . . About two of the clock there appeared two or three troops of horse which divided themselves after they

had faced our castle about an hour, from a little hill on the South side thereof . . . & presently stopped all our passengers. Not long after there appeared about two or three hundred foot upon the East part of our castle which likewise dispersed themselves. The number of the enemy, as we understand since, was about seven hundred of horse & foot.

"This evening a trumpeter was sent to summon our castle from Henry Lingen, esquire, High Sheriff . . . which was answered by the honourable & valiant Lady Harley. The evening upon their first approach & before their summons (they) murdered one John Powntney a man born blind, because upon demand he said he was for the King & the Parliament."

"Thursday the 27th many of the foot possessed the town & church, & we played all that day & night with small shot upon each other. Some of the enemy were slain, but none of us. This day they plundered many of our sheep & cattle."

During the next few days each side kept alternately sending letters, demanding or refusing surrender, and firing "small shot."

"Tuesday, August 1, 1643, the enemy approached into our quarters & began to raise breastworks." They also set fire to the outbuildings of the castle and to mills and houses on the property.

On Thursday, August 3, the "enemy planted a saker[1] against our castle in the stable window. This

[1] A small piece of artillery.

evening they made ten shots against us with bullets of betwixt six and seven pounds weight which pierced our battlements but slew none of us, wherein the great power of God may be observed that in these nine days not a hair fell from our heads by any of these enemies; as for our loss by fire & plunder which hath already been very great to the value of three thousand pounds & upwards, yet it was observed that all of us took joyfully the spoiling of our goods. The malignants of the country stood upon hills about us, & when the ordnance played, gave great shouts, which no whit daunted us. This night they cast up a work at the parsonage on the east side of the castle, which we could not prevent in the dark, & the enemy fired a bomb on the west side, which did no whit among us, although they had the wind."

"Friday, August 4th. . . . All this day they played with their great gun, they made twenty-six shots against us which only struck down one chimney & a battlement of our castle, shattering the tilestones, & although most of the bullets came in the house there was not one of us hurt. . . ."

"Saturday, August 5th, the enemy made twenty one shots more against our castle, & at last down came the top of another chimney, at which the Cavaliers gave a great shout—& cause they had so to do—that with five great shots at eighty yards distance they prevailed against one stack of chimneys & a battlement. . . ."

"Sunday, August 6th, the enemy saluted us very

early with their loud music before morning sermon & then left off, perhaps ashamed of some barbarism on this day, or rather because God did blow upon some of their instruments which broke. . . . Let me add this one thing remarkable. Of men & women & children never used to such hardships, about one hundred all immured up in a close house & the dog-days, there was not one sick or feeble person among us."

"Monday, August 7th, . . . This day they made ten shots with a demiculverin which did no execution; in the afternoon they planted a very great gun on the west side (of) the castle & made three shots at us, the third bullet came in at the window & shattered the wall by the clock, broke the bell & hurt in the lobby at the parlour door the Lady Coleburn, struck out one of her eyes. Mrs. Wright, Dr. Wright's wife, was also hurt, but thanks be to God, neither of them mortally. This was the saddest day that we have yet had since the beginning of the siege."

"Tuesday, August the 8th, the enemy planted two great guns against the west side of our castle, this day they made twenty nine shots against us, some of their bullets weighed nine pounds ten ounces, all of which did no execution, neither on the walls nor persons, such was the mercy of God. This evening came in two colonels of the enemy's foot, who vapoured at their first approach & gave a shout, called us Roundheads, these made neither our walls shake or our hearts fail."

The next day, August 9th, the enemy "planted five great guns" and fired forty-three shots at the castle, which "did us little hurt."

"Thursday, August 10th, the enemy were so quiet till evening that we could scarce discern they were here, they gave us three shots out of the steeple which broke some Venetian glasses in a high tower which formerly entertained some of those capon-faced cowards who have unmanned themselves in offering violence to so noble a lady."

On Friday, the 11th, the enemy fired "thirty six shots against us, which through God's mercy hurt none of us, nor our walls but very little, besides continually shooting with muskets & hammer-guns ever since the siege began & yet not a man of ours slain or wounded, which is a wonderful thing."

"Sunday, August 13th, we were necessitated to work in the morning, for we found that our wall in the west was sore battered almost to a breach & that very near the ground. . . ."

Things continued much as usual, the enemy firing chiefly from the steeple, until Thursday, August 17th. "The Lord was pleased this day to sadden us with the breaking of an iron gun, which was our greatest, whereby an honest & active gentleman of our garrison was sore hurt."

The next day, Friday, the 18th, "our honest cook received a shot through his left arm, which was the first bullet (with which) the enemy touched any of us."

On Saturday, 19th, "We were informed that of the enemy there were three score hurt & slain."

Sunday "We spent in fasting & prayer that we might be delivered out of the hands of these bloody enemies."

Monday, August 19th, "A small party of our men sallied out upon the enemy & slew some of them, fired a house where they kept their wild fire, very much to our advantage."

Tuesday "They cast up breastworks in our gardens & walks; & lay so near us that their rotten language infected the air; they were so completely inhuman that out of their own mouths, & the mouths of their guns, came nothing else but poisoned words & poisoned bullets."

On Wednesday the 24th, "a drum was sent with a parley," to arrange that Sir John Scudamore should visit the Castle with a message from the King.

On Thursday the interview took place. Sir John "came up into the Castle by a ladder & a rope, had conference with our noble lady, demanded her castle &c. This day our cook died, being shot into the arm formerly with a poisoned bullet."

For nearly a fortnight, *i.e.*, from Thursday, August 24th, till Wednesday, September 6, the negotiations continued and hostilities were suspended; although the siege was strictly maintained. On Wednesday the artillery on both sides reopened fire, the castle firing one shot and the enemy two. On Thursday, again, a couple of shots were fired. News came that

the siege was about to be raised, as the King's forces were to concentrate for a great battle against "The Lord General."

"Friday the 8th of September, 1643, the Cavaliers stole away our bells & as they were carrying them out of the town, we sent some of his Majesty's good subjects to old Nick for their sacrilege."

"Saturday the 9th of September we continued with small shot most of the day & through God's mercy concluded another week & none of us slain or wounded. . . . The Lord was this day pleased to take away these bloody villains, & to return them with shame, which had vexed us almost these seven weeks."—*Marquis of Bath's MSS., I.*, 1-7, *Harley Papers.*

Another writer describes the condition of the Castle during and after the siege.

"During the siege our sufferings were great, the enemy sat down so suddenly before us. All our bread was ground with a hand mill, our provisions very scarce, the roof of the castle so battered that there was not one dry room in it."

The inhabitants of Brampton Castle, however, congratulated themselves too soon upon their escape from the "bloody villains." In a few weeks the castle was again besieged by the Cavaliers. Although, in the two sieges, the garrison only lost four men, while "the enemy confessed that they lost four hundred men there," things went far worse in

the second siege than in the first, and at last the garrison surrendered.

"They carried us all away prisoners to Ludlow Castle, from thence to Shrewsbury, some of us to Chester Castle. The inhabitants of Ludlow baited us like bears & demanded where our God was."

The gallant Lady Harley died, after three days' illness, either just before, or in the early part of the second siege. "Her body, which she desired might be wrapped in lead, was carefully preserved & placed in a high tower of the castle to attend an honourable funeral . . . which was prevented by the malice of her implacable enemies."

After its surrender, Brampton Castle, by command of Prince Rupert, was "burnt & demolished." With it apparently was cremated the body of Lady Harley, "raked up again in close cinders, from whence it will one day rise against these monsters & usurpers of the name of Christian."—*Marquis of Bath's MSS., I.*, 26-33, *Harley Papers.*

The neutrality question, at sea, in time of war, has led to a good deal of diplomatic action while these extracts have been in the writing. A case of the kind in the seventeenth century shall now be given.

"The Proconsuls & Senators of Hamburgh to the Parliament. 1653, October 25.—Complaining that their ships on their voyages to & from neutral ports were frequently seized by English ships, &

sometimes the men on board tortured to obtain a false confession that they were bound for a belligerent port in order to give an excuse for making prize therof &c."—*MSS. of the Duke of Portland, vol. ii.*, 676.

Here is a letter from England's most celebrated Admiral.

10 March, 1801. From Horatio Viscount Nelson to Lady Hamilton.

"What can Sir William mean by wanting you to launch out into expense & extravagance? He that used to think that a little candle-light & iced water would ruin him, to want to set off at £10,000 a year, for a less sum could not afford concerts & the style of living equal to it. . . . I suppose I shall lose my cause against Lord St. Vincent, I have only justice, honour, & the custom of the service on my side; he has partiality, power, money, & rascality on his; but we are good friends, & I have the highest opinion of his naval ability."—*MSS. of Alfred Morrison, App. to 9th Rep.*, 486-7.

The following letter contains a good deal of common-sense:—

Excerpts from a Series of Letters from Captain, afterwards Admiral Sir David Milne, K.C.B., to George Home of Wedderburn.

"H.M. Ship Impeteux, Spithead, 11 November, 1811. . . . For some time past I have been quite

taken up with court-martials. What makes me mention this is—a man that was tried for striking his captain. You have, I believe, heard me mention I never punish a man the moment he committed the crime or after dinner. In the evening when he mustered at the guns this man was found fault with for the screw of the gun not being quite clean, & was instantly ordered on the quarter deck to be floged. He asked what he was to be punished for, & no answer was given but he was ordered to strip. This he refused to do, & his cloaths were immediately cut of his back with knives. When about to be tied up, he made a run at the captain & struck him. This man is condemned to be hanged. His defence was he was seized with a momentary frenzy, & running to jump overboard he pushed his captain to get past him. This his witnesses in part proved. Had Captain Collier put this man in confinement till next morning, the above would not have happened. Indeed I think there should be an order to that purpose."—*MSS. of Colonel David Milne Home of Wedderburn Castle, N.B.*, 148-9.

If, after mentioning matters naval and military, the compiler were to be silent about ecclesiastical affairs, his clerical friends might consider him irreverent. A few extracts upon the subject must therefore be given. Beginning with the time of James I., he may observe that that

conceited amateur theologian concocted a curious mixture of paganism with Christianity, if some verses are correctly attributed to him, ending :—

> Thou Jove, that art the only God indeede,
> My prayer heare: sweete Jesus intercede.

—*MSS. of Miss C. Griffith, App. to 5th Rep.*, 410.

Sir Sigismund Zinzan seems to have posed as, what is called in these modern days, "an aggrieved parishioner."

"Statement of the causes depending in the Star Chamber against Sir Sigismund Zinzan. First he disturbed a licensed & authorised minister, ready to do service on the sabbath day, & appointed another neither licensed nor authorised, & wrote to Francis Drake, who had the gift of the place, to appoint his man; and upon Drake's declining, because he had already appointed another, & because Zinzan's candidate was given to drink & notoriously unfit, wrote two scandalous & libellous letters, touching Drake in his place of justice of the peace. Secondly, because he beat Rob. Cley, the messenger who served process upon him, with the assistance of Henry Sturley, his brother-in-law, so that Cley was driven to run for his life into the Thames, where he continued for a quarter of an hour in the depth of winter."—*Bridgewater MSS.*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VII.*, 159.

The date is not given; but it was apparently somewhere about 1600.

Now comes an official letter showing the zeal of that pious King, Charles I., against the "foule scandall" of "popish recusants."

LORD WENTWORTH AND OTHERS TO THE BISHOP OF CHESTER AND THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE WITHIN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

"1629, Dec. 29. At the Mannor of York.—His Majesty havinge bene pleased, upon the often complainte of the growinge number of popish recusants, to take into his pyous consideration howe soe spreading an evill might be tymely mett with, hath upon serious advyce with his Councell & for the greater safety & contentment of his kingdomes & better subjects, taken a firme resolution to free his government from soe foule a scandall. To which purpose wee have receaved his gracious directions for the indytinge and convictinge of all such recusantes, & for fyndeing the estates of all soe convicted, that the duties thereupon accrewed unto his Majesty by the statutes of this realme maie thereby soe be answered as might both manifest his princely care in this behalfe, calle backe, (if maie be) such as are already fallen, or at leaste repress the further increase of them hereafter, &c. &c."—*MSS. of Lord Kenyon*, 38.

Under Charles II. the suppression of the same "foule scandall" proved profitable.

WILLIAM HAYHURST TO ROGER KENYON.

"1682[-3], Jan. 22, London. The new project, Mr. Burton tells me, is to make a certain revenue of the Papists. The estates of those of the better rank & quality are valued at nine & twelve thousand pounds *per annum*" [evidently only in one particular district] "and the two thirds are to be farmed by the parties, to pay yearly 6000li. into your hands, to be constantly paid into the Exchequer. . . . If this project take, & you have your 18d. per li., it will amount to 450li. *per annum*. . . . This will come to you without clamour or noise."—*MSS. of Lord Kenyon*, 156-7.

Anna, Countess of Eglinton, was obviously a most religious lady, a lady indeed who "smelled of grace"; and, from the mention, in the next letter, of her being "unequally yoked," it is probable that, like many much more modern ladies, she prided herself upon bearing a cross, and that that cross was her husband.[1]

ROBERT BRUCE OF KINNAIRD TO ANNA COUNTESS OF EGLINTON.

"Madam, I cannot tell at quhat schole your ladyship hes beine at; bot surlie your ladyships last letter smelled of grace, had ane fragrant perfume of the Holie Spirit. I sie your ladyship's cross is senctified. I fear ye had mister [need] of patience,

[1] He was a celebrated warrior.

that efter ye have done His will ye may report His promeiss. Ther is nothing that assures me mor of your electione. Suppose ye be vnequallie yoked, it is for your guid & for yowr humiliation; for yowr ladyship is sent to your prayer to be verie earnest that the eies of the instrument that exerceisses yowr ladyship may be illuminat, & the persone sanctified, whither it be he or she, they may become a sueit & gracious comfort to yow. . . . Indeed it knites my heart wnto your ladyship, for I sie clearlie the Lord hes appointed yow to be a wessel[1] of honore. This is the crosse of Christ that is vpon yowr ladyship & it will sanctifie the domestick. I neuer fand your ladyship so redolent; if I wer neir yow I wald gar yow smell mor in my mynd; bot as it is ye shall have my inteir affectione, with my humble deprecation that my sueit Lord may supplie my want, & not onlie doe your ladyship guid, bot all that is in yowr case. Ye wald be a formall Christian, madam, if ye vanted that;—a painted sepulchre, ane outward professer. But now ye beir, the force of religione is at yowr heart; & now ye must wait on quhill He that hes laid it on, in His sueittest mercies tak it off & raise yow upe comforts of yowr childreine & of some of yowr brethreine & vthers about yow, to strengthen your ladyship invard man that he faint not & that he grow not wearie, &c. Kynnaird, 2 Sep. 1629."

[1] Can Dickens have been reading this before he wrote *Pickwick?*

MR. JOSIAS WELSH, MINISTER OF TEMPLE PATRICK, TO ANNA COUNTESS OF EGLINTON, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS WORK IN IRELAND.

" . . . The Lords worke prospereth gratiouslye in this countrey ; it spreadeth abroad (blessed be His name!) & notwithstanding the great opposition it hath, it flourisheth indeed lyke the palme tree ; & even the last Sabbath in Antrim, ane English congregation, the superstitious forme of kneelyng at the sacrement put away, & the true paterne of the institution directlye followed, which was ane thyng that we could neuer looke for in that place."—*MSS. of the Earl of Eglinton*, 46.

The following letter is a curiosity, in its way :—

Among letters to the Earl of Bridgewater, President of the Marches, from officials at Ludlow Castle, there is a letter " From Sir John Brydgeman, dated 3 July 1636, endorsed by the Earl as relating to 'custom of eating & drinking at Communion Table ; case of Stretton in com. Salop, dismissed upon answer of parson there,' in which the following passage occurs : 'I have received your lordship's letters of the 25th of June last, & for the custome therein mentioned, it is true, as I heare, that it is claymed in many parishes both in Hereford & Shropshires, & hath beene usually performed in the churche, but I do not heare that there was ever any allowance geven thereof by this Councell ; but it is true that some of the parishioners of Stretton in

Shropshire of late exhibited a bill in this court against one Mr. Hankes, parson there, to compell him to performe that custome, whereunto he answered, shewing the unfittness to have eating & drinking in the churche, yett offering to do it in a convenient place; which matter was moved in the beginning of this terme, being the first tyme I hard of it, whereupon we were so farre from relieving the plaintiffs that we dismissed the defendant with good costs.'" —*Bridgewater MSS.*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VII.*, 148.

Like the above letter, that below refers to the Communion Table:—

JAMES TOMBES TO SIR ROBERT HARLEY.

"1641, May 3, Leominster. . . . Hearing of the proceedings in the house of Commons concerning communion tables & canons, I caused in December last the communion table in my church which had bene in Bishop Wren's time, & by Mr. Brabazon, than churchwarden of this parish, his appointment, turned alter-wise, to be placed with the two sides North and South, & began to disuse the surplice, & the crosse at baptizing, which hath so nettled the ignorant & superstitious of this countrey that as the cathedrall men seeke to sting me, so the common people exclaime much against me."—*MSS. of the Duke of Portland, vol. iii.*, 14*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part II.*, 76.

If in 1636 communion tables were being used as luncheon tables, there was a change in the opposite direction in 1660, when the Council—not the ecclesiastical authorities—laid down strict rules for the observance of Lenten austerities.

ANDREW NEWPORT TO SIR RICHARD LEVESON.

"16$\frac{60}{61}$, Feb. 26, London. . . . If the late obligation for the observance of Lent strictly appear severe to you that possibly cannot undergo the penance of a fish diet, I hear you will be absolv'd in some measure from it by a new & more indulgent order; for upon debate in the Council lately, I am told it was resolv'd that 3 days of the week should be dispensed with, (viz.) Sundays, Tuesdays, & Thursdays, which will be more convenient for you in that I think, you have no Bishop as yet settled in your diocesse." —*MSS. of the Duke of Sutherland, App. to 5th Rep.*, 159.

Another stringent rule was made. In 1661 Members of Parliament "were appointed to receive the Communion" at St. Margaret's, Westminster.

ANDREW NEWPORT TO SIR RICHARD LEVESON.

"1661, May 30, London. . . . There were so many members absent of both parties from St. Margarets on Sunday last, when they were appointed to receive the Communion, that neither party thought fit to take notice of it in the house

next day. Mr. Prynne & some few others refus'd to take it kneeling."—*MSS. of the Duke of Sutherland, App. to 5th Rep.*, 160.

Theologians interested in prophecy and the number of the beast, may possibly care to read this letter from Mr. Humphrey Barrowe :—

HUMPHREY BARROWE TO ORMOND.

"1665, Dec. 12, Tralee. The product of the year 1666 having been the knotty theme of some laborious, but too confident pens, which nevertheless (& that without the help of their discord) have left us still in the dark, I humbly beg it may not be accounted a piece of levity in your servant to acquaint your Grace with a small beam, which lately, yet perhaps seasonably, shined into his observation. My Lord, I neither pretend to the spirit of prophecy nor that of interpretation, but on Friday, the first of this month, about four in the morning, awaking out of a dream (to which I dare not presume to be the Oedipus) I fell, as above my station I use to do, into a consideration of the present posture of affairs betwixt the King & his neighbours, amongst whom the French King was pressed deep into my thoughts, and (as under an impulsive violence) his name (being in the Roman tongue Ludovicus) made the sole subject of my meditation, which having often revolved in the accusative case, Ludovicum, I fancied the discretion of it, & found it to consist of the numerical letters standing for 1666, viz., M.D.C.L.V.V.V.I.,

with the letter O standing in the body of the name exclamantly calling for the wonder & admiration of the world at what should happen that year; withal observing the accusative Ludovicum subject to the government of some verb, but whether exlexi, rejexi, vocavi, missi, or what else, God only knows. After which, retrospecting the nominative Ludovicus, I found its numerical letters, viz., D.C.L.V.V.V.I., being 666, being the perfect number of the beast, being the number of a man, Revelations 13th, the last verse."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Ormond, New Series, vol. iii.*, 199.

Next we have a letter concerning that then new sect, the "coursed Quakers," as well as other Nonconformists.

LETTER FROM D. TOSHACH ADDRESSED FOR THE RYCHT HONORABLE THE EARLE OF PERTH, LORD HEIGH CHANCELOURE OFF SCOTLAND.

"Amboy, 27th March 1685. My Lord, the maltratement I hav gotine in the province of Jersey by thir coursed Quakers who mind nothing but there own interest; as for the proprietors I do not sie one fur they hav in the province nor is not to be had to them, but hills & rocks, for all the campione ground & river side ar takine up allradie by Quakers, Independents, Presbiterians, Anabaptists, & in a word by all the off scouring off hell. I went severall tyms to Mr. Laurie, the deputie Governour, as Mr. Droumond can shew your Lordship enquering for that

land your Lordship sold me. He told me severall tyms he knew no land you had, but if I pleased I should have land, but such as was unaccessible ffor mountains & rocks, off which ther is not a ffew in this province . . . will oblidge your Lordship in all consience to giue me bak the two hundered & fifty pound I ordered my brother to give yow, &c."—*MSS. of Charles Stirling Home Drummond*, 137.

In a letter to Roger Kenyon, Richard Clegge showed that he, too, was no admirer of the Quakers.

"1682, Aug. 25, Kirkham. There is a place in this parish, wee call Brewers-yard, four or five miles distant, where the Quakers (the most incorrigible sinners I know) doe use to bury. . . . I desire you, therefore, you may procure this may bee spooken of at Sheriff's table, that these places may be laid wast, or if not soe, some other remedy may be thought of for the preventeing of their diabolicall infatuation & infection."—*MSS. of Lord Kenyon*, 146.

A very irreverent trick was played upon no less a person than Dr. Berkeley, the celebrated metaphysician, when he was about to start for the Bermudas, as he himself described it, "for the reformation of manners among the English in our Western plantations, & the propagation of the Gospel among the American savages," as well as for the purpose of founding there a missionary college. The project met with a good deal of ridicule.

9 Nov., 1723. Philip Percival, at Dublin, wrote to Lord Percival.

"I believe you are no stranger to Dr. Berkeley's inclination to Bermuda, & for want of news I here send you some verses which a little nymph of about 5 or 6 years old, drest up all in flowers & myrtle, surprised him with at his chamber: as she was perfectly unknown to him & came alone, he had various conjectures in his mind what this meant; & upon asking her several questions which she still answered in French, & in ambiguous terms, he at last began to mistrust it was some French child designed to be left on his hands, & got his hat & made the best of his way downstairs."

To the Rev. Dr. Berkeley, the humble petition of Anne de la Terre.

"Dear Doctor, here comes a young virgin untainted
To your shrine at Bermuda to be marry'd & sainted.
I'm young & I'm soft, & am blooming & tender,
Of all that I have I make you surrender.
My innocence led by the voice of your fame
To your person & virtue must put in its claim;
And now I behold you I truly believe
That you're as like Adam as I am like Eve,
Before the dire Serpent their virtue betray'd,
And made them to fly from the Sun to the shade.
But you, as in you a new race were begun,
Are teaching to fly from the shade to the Sun:
For you in great goodness your friends are persuading

To go & to live & be wise in your Eden.
Oh! let me go with you; Oh! pity my youth,
Oh! take me from hence, let me not lose my truth.
Sure you, who have virtue so much in your mind,
Can't think to leave me, who am Virtue, behind!
If you make me your wife, Sir, in time you may fill a
Whole town with your children, & likewise your villa.
I, famous for breeding, you, famous for knowledge,
I'll found a whole nation, you'll found a whole college.
When many long ages in joys we have spent,
Our souls we'll resign with the utmost content,
And gently we'll sink between cypress & yew,
You lying by me, & I lying by you."
—*MSS. of the Earl of Egmont, App. to 7th Rep.*, 243.

Nor was this the end of the fun poked at the unhappy Doctor, who wrote from the scene of his missionary labours, more than a year later :—

"As for the raillery of European wits, I should not mind it if I saw my College go on & prosper; but I must own the disappointments I have met with in this particular have nearly touched me, not without affecting my health & spirits."—*The same MSS.*, 243-4.

The college was, in short, a failure. The British Government forgot to give the £20,000 it had promised towards it. After his return to Ireland, Dr. Berkeley was made Bishop of Cloyne.

Are not the following lines sadly profane? They have, however, appeared elsewhere.

N.D. Verses Unsigned, the Handwriting of the Eighteenth Century.

"The Bench have oft posed us and set us a scoffing
With signing John London, John Sarum, John Roffen,
But his Grace of to-day no expounders will want
For he signs with his own proper name—Thomas Cant."

—*MSS. of R. W. Ketton*, 12*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IX.*, 187.

The Rev. John Horne Tooke does not write very reverentially of his holy orders.

John Horne (Tooke) to Wilkes . . . 1766, Jan. 3.

"Says that altho' a parson, he is not ordained a hypocrite. True, he has suffered the infectious Hand of a Bishop to be waved over him."—*MSS. of Col. Macaulay*, *Part IV.*, *App.*, 401.

Tooke was elected for the pocket Borough of Old Sarum. An objection was made to his taking his seat on the ground that he was a clergyman. On inquiry it was found that this was not a legal obstacle, and Tooke sat through one Parliament; but a bill was at once introduced and passed rendering clergymen ineligible in the future for seats in the House of Commons.

For a specimen of pious flattery, it would be difficult to surpass the next letter.

1715. Revd. Walter Horton to the Hon. Mrs. Shirley. Dated in the Cathedral Close of Lichfield.

"Most honoured Madam,

Permit me to address myself to you this day, & even with extasys, & transports of joy to congratulate your having compleated the twenty first year of your age. It was my happiness to dedicate you to the Christian Religion, & it is a mighty satisfaction to me, that you are as much distinguished by your Piety, as by your birth, & quality, & I have with unspeakable pleasure reflected upon that truly noble Idea of Religion, which is so eminently conspicuous in you, which sits as it were in a glorious triumph in your brest, with all the passions in subjection to her, & with all that lustre which a sweet disposition, and excellent sense, & a most graceful amiable Personage, can endear, & recommend, &c."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Townshend*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IV.*, 231.

The Church was apparently very militant at Northampton, when there was an election, in the eighteenth century.

1767, Nov. 17. Edward Sedgwick to Edward Weston.

[Lord Halifax at the Northampton election] ". . . A Blow indeed was aimed at his Lordship by a

drunken clergyman who headed the adverse Mob; but a faithful Servant, I am told, defended his Master from the Stroke & beat the Parson within an inch of his Life. And what makes it a much more serious affair for the latter is, that the Bishop is said to have suspended him from his Functions & to have declared he shall be broke."—*MSS. of C. S. Weston Underwood*, 408.

We have next a description by an unworldly Right Revd. Bishop of "the very great prize" he had had "the good fortune to draw in the lottery of the world." The Bishop of Ossory writes to Lord Sackville thanking him for obtaining for him the great object of his desires—the See of Clogher. After paying a visit there, he writes:—

1782, July 9, Dublin. "My cathedral is now no longer a miserable but very neat & respectable parish church. It was rebuilt by Bishop Sterne. . . . Bishop Sterne also built the present palace, which though not so well contrived as it might have been, is far from a despicable place of residence, especially as my predecessor added two wings, the one an eating-room of thirty feet by twenty, the other a library of thirty-two feet by twenty-two, exclusive of the bow-window in each. The desmesne is sufficiently planted, & from that circumstance, & the uncommon irregularity of the ground, in my opinion extremely beautiful. It measures 560 English acres, & the whole is surrounded by a stone wall, without

a road or even a pathway through any part of the ground except for my own servants, such as park-keeper, shepherd &c. My beef, mutton, veal & lamb are all as good in their kinds as can be, the farm is to produce pigs, poultry, cream & butter, hay, oats, & straw. The decoy gives me teal & wild ducks. The warren supplies me with as excellent rabbits as I ever tasted; the pidgeon house with pidgeons; the water furnishes carp, tench, trout, eels, perch & pike, the venison in the park is remarkably good, & a most extensive range of mountain, of which I have absolute dominion, yields at the proper seasons an astonishing profusion of partridge, hares, & grouse. The city of Clogher stands on my ground, & the citizens are all of course my tenants. . . . The country is healthy & fine & the roads about me very good. The diocese is in the highest order of any in Ireland, the clergy are a most respectable body of men. . . . Finally, the income of the see is not less, as I am informed, than £4,000 per annum, which in my judgment is no trifling emolument. Such, my Lord, is now my situation, & with unfeigned gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of all events, & those steady & active friends with whose assistance He has blessed me in my pursuits, I may now I think sit quietly down in my retreat & enjoy in my own way for the rest of my life the very great prize I have had the good fortune to draw in the lottery of the world."

A little farther on in his letter, he says: "These

reflections will serve to show your Lordship my opinion of the wise step you took in retiring from the hurry & weight of public business, & that I do not hesitate in determining whether 'the state of care & responsibility or of ease & quiet be the most preferable state.'"—*Mrs. Stopford Sackville's MSS., I.*, 279-80.

Evidently bishops considered that their high office exempted them from "care & responsibility" in those days.

Some letters from so representative a divine of a certain school, in the eighteenth century, as Dean Swift, it is hoped may not prove uninteresting.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN BY DEAN SWIFT TO THE DUKE OF DORSET IN 1734-6.

"I desire your Grace further to consider that by want of trade here, [Dublin] there is no encouragement for gentlemen to breed their sons to merchandise; that not many great employments in Church or Law or Revenue fall to the share of persons born in Ireland; & consequently that the last resource of younger brothers is to the Church, where, if well befriended, they may possibly rise to some reasonable maintenance."

On April 15, 1735, he writes: "Your Grace must remember that some days before you left us I commanded you to attend me to Doctor Delany's house, about a mile out of this town, where you were to find

Doctor Helsham the physician. I told you they were the two worthyest gentlemen in this kingdom in their several facultyes. You were pleased to comply with me, called at the Deanry & carryed me thither, where you dined with apparent satisfaction. Now, this same Doctor Helsham hath ordered me to write to your Grace in behalf of one Alderman Aldrich, who is Master of the Dublin Barrack, & is as high a Whig & more at your devotion than I could perhaps wish him to be. And yet he is a very honest gentleman, &, what is more important, a near relation of the Grattans, who in your Grace's absence are Governors of all Ireland, & your Vicegerents when you are here, as I told you. They consist of an Alderman, whom you are to find Lord Mayor at Michaelmas next; of a doctor who kills or cures half the city; of two parsons, my subjects as prebendaryes, who rule the other half, & of a vagrant brother who governs the North. They are all brethren, & your army of twelve thousand soldiers are not able to stand against them. Now, your Grace is to understand that these Grattans will stickle to death for all their cousins to the five & fiftieth degree; & consequently this Alderman Aldrich being onely removed two degrees of kindred, & having a son as great a Whig as the father, hath prevayled with Doctor Helsham to make me write to your Grace, that the son of such a father may have the mastership of a barrack at Kinsale, which is just vacant. His name is Michael Aldrich. . . . I think this is the third request I have made to

your Grace. You have granted the two first & therefore must grant the third. For when I knew Courts, those who had received a dozen favours were utterly disobliged if they were refused the thirteenth. Besides, if this be not granted, the Grattans will rise in rebellion, which I tremble to think of. My Lady Eliz. Germain uses me very ill in her letters. I want a present from her, & desire you will please order that it may be a seal. Mine are too small for the fashion, & I would have a large one, worth forty shillings at least."

In the same year Swift wrote to Dorset: "Your Grace fairly owes me £110 a year in the Church, which I thus prove. I desired you would bestow a preferment of £150 per annum on a certain clergyman. Your answer was that I asked modestly, that you would not promise, but would grant my request. However, that clergyman for want of good intelligence, or (as the cant-word is here) being not an expert King-fisher, was forced to take up with £40 a year, & I shall never trouble your Grace any more in his behalf. But, however, by plain arithmetick it appears that £110 remain. And this arrear I have assigned to one John Jackson, no less than a cousin German of the Grattans."

Swift then mentioned a "Deanry," just fallen vacant, which he desired might be given to John Jackson.—*Mrs. Stopford Sackville's MSS.*, *I.*, 160-66.

About Swift's own Deanery we have the following lines:—

N.D. [ABOUT 1713]. THE REV. MR. SMEDLEY, MINISTER OF —— [*sic*] IN IRELAND, ON DR. SWIFT.

"A Deanery he has got at last
By ways most strange and odd
And may a Bishop be in time
If he'd believe in God!"

—*MSS. of R. W. Ketton*, 12*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IX.*, 187.

Perhaps the compiler may have put Dean Swift in the wrong place; for, on his merits, he was more deserving of rank among authors than among theologians. Well! Authors and literary men shall be taken next, and, as Dean Swift will then stand between preachers and writers, he may be supposed to be classed among whichever the reader may desire.

The names of many well-known literary men appear in the *Reports;* but, although there are some excellent letters from literary women in the latter part of the eighteenth century, it must be confessed that, in its early years, and yet more in the seventeenth century, the literary style of ladies, even of high degree, was as a rule execrable. Here are a couple of specimens.

ANNA, COUNTESS OF ARGYLL, TO THE COUNTESS OF ATHOLE.

"INVERARY, the 23 Sep., 1675.

"DEAR MADAM,

"I was verie solisitus all this sumer to know how your Ladyship & all yours war, & how you

keep your health, & was onc going to send in to you bot I was hindered by my ouen sikness, & my Lord sent me word you was well, which was verie exceptabell to me: my dear Lord hes been in the condision of a soger this fortnight,—the particalers of all he hes wrot to your Lord, which maks me say no mor bot that, in all places I can be in, I am verie disayrous to be so hapie as to hear of your welbeing, & all yours, for I am with all respek & loue a wellwisher to you & am, Dear madam, your most affection and most humble servant,

"ANNA ARGYLL.

"Pray madam giue me liue to present my humbell seruic to your Lord & I am my Lady Jan's sereuent & my suit Lady Emilia."—*MSS. of the Duke of Athole*, 12*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part VIII.*, 33.

[1716], MARCH 10. CATHERINE VENABLES, DAUGHTER OF SIR ROBERT SHIRLEY, TO THE HON. MRS. SHIRLEY.

"My waint of heart (Madam) hendered me writing & I had as soon as I heard, to have wished y^{u} ioy no boddy dus it more harttyly (for y^{re} father & mother sack) I most allwas haue a kindnes for y^{u} & should be glad if it was in my power to searvie y^{u}. I am much consearned att the disputs betwine y^{u}, & y^{r} grandfather & his anger, he is your father father, & for his sack bair it all as well as y^{u} can and bid his packen [passion?] as much as you can for his sack & your own as it may as lettel be knon as can be in

the famally y^u^ are now in, he is old, & so I am I hope y^u^ will exquise this impertignences, & believe me to be

"Dear Madam

"Y^r^ affect.[1] Aunt & humble searvant

"C. VENABLES."

—*MSS. of the Marquess of Townshend*, 11*th Rep.*, *App.*, *Part IV.*, 234.

In fairness to the memories of these ladies, however, it should be borne in mind that great licence was then allowed in the matter of spelling, that the proper spelling of many words was yet an open question, and that even literary men of high standing frequently spelt the same word differently on the same page.

The seventeenth century was a period remarkable, from a literary point of view, for its output of translations and adaptations from the ancient classics. Some very apt remarks are made by Drummond of Hawthornden upon translations in a letter to a patron.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND [OF HAWTHORNDEN] TO ALEXANDER, LORD KILDRUMMIE.

"LYTHGOW, 15 of October, 1639.

"My Lord, heere yee haue the essaye of that piece your lordship desired mee to translate. It is in those sorte of rimes that the originall is. Manye verses haue a grace in one language & loose it in another.

[1] She was her great-aunt.

Some Latin is but shallow in English. I am assured no thing wanteth heer of the sense, & if there be any addition it is to make them keepe the English measures. The best translations showe vs but (as goldsmythes shopes) jewells thorough glasse. I had rather make twentye free lines ere I translated ten. And I admire translatoures, like men capring in fetters. I request your lordship to pardone the imperfectiones of this translation; for if your lordship had not desired mee, & your desire was an absolute commandement, I would neuer stumbled on any translation. But what could not your Lordship's letter moue him to vndirgoe who is allwayes deuoted to serue your Lordship.

"W. DRUMMOND."

—*MSS. of Lord Elphinstone, App. to 9th Rep.*, 199.

Addison mentions the subject of translations in a letter to Tonson: "Tonson's discourse about translating Ovid made such an impression on him that he ventured on the second book, which he turned at his leisure hours. Ovid has so many silly stories with his good ones that he is more tedious to translate than a better poet would be."

The above letter is among a number of seventeenth and eighteenth century letters, from or to literary men, in the possession of Mr. W. R. Baker, a descendant of Jacob Tonson, the well-known publisher, friend of "the wits and poets of that time, and founder of the Kit-Cat Club."

A few extracts shall be given from those which appear in the *Reports*.

Dennis in a letter to Tonson, June 4, 1715: "Abuses Pope; Pope has always the same dull cadence & a continual bag-pipe drone."

Dryden writes to Tonson, October 29 (no year): "Has done the 7th Æneid in the country; intends in a few days to begin the 8th; when that is finished he expects £50 in good silver, not such as he had formerly. [In another letter he says that there was a great deal of clipped money in circulation, and that his wife lately received 40 shillings made of brass, in some change.] I am not obliged to take gold, nor will I; nor stay for it beyond 24 hours after it is due."

Dryden writes to Tonson asking him to "get him three pounds of snuff."

There is a contract "by Tonson to pay Dryden 250 guineas for 10,000 verses. . . . The 250 guineas to be made up to £300 on a second impression of the 10,000 verses. Witnessed by Ben. Portlock & W. Congreve."

"Alexander Pope to Tonson, Nov. 14, 1731.—'Almost ready to be angry with your nephew for being the publisher of Theobald's Shakespear, who according to the laudable custom of commentators first served himself of my pains, & then abused me for 'em.'"

Sir John Vanbrugh in letters (1703-25) "congratulates Tonson on his luck in South Sea Stock." In a notice of the opera he says that £20,000 is subscribed, the King giving £1,000 a year. And later,

"The opera is supported: half a guinea for pit & boxes."

The bills are given for both Dryden and Tonson's funerals. Whereas that of Dryden only cost £45 17s., Tonson's cost £124 5s. 9d.—*MSS. of W. R. Baker, Esq., App. to 2nd Rep.*, 69-72.

Here is one of the letters written by Voltaire when in England.

FROM VOLTAIRE TO JOHN BRINSDEN, ESQ., DURHAM'S YARD, CHARING CROSS.

"S^r I wish you good health, a quick sale of y^r Burgundy, much latin & greek to one of y^r children, much law, much of Cooke and Littleton, to the other, quiet & joy to Mistress Brinsden, money to all. When you'll drink y^r Burgundy with Mr. Furneze pray tell him I'll never forget his favours. But dear John be so kind as to let me know how does my Lady Bullingbrooke.[1] As to my Lord, I left him so well I don't doubt he is so still. But I am very uneasie about my Lady. If she might have as much health as she has spiritt and witt, sure she would be the strongest body in England. Pray dear S^r write me something of her, of my lord, & of you. Direct y^r by the penny post at Mr. Cavalier Belitery Square by the R. Exchange. I am sincerely & heartily y^r most humble most obedient rambling friend Voltaire. No date."—*MSS. of Alfred Morrison.*

[1] Probably Lord Bolingbrooke's second wife, the Marquise de Vilette, a niece of Madame de Maintenon.

We have next extracts from two letters not written altogether in praise of Pope.

LETTERS BY W. KENT (MOST LIKELY THE ARTIST).

"1738, June 27. Pope is very busy; he last night came to me about 8 o'clock, in liquor, & would have more wine."

"1738, Nov. 28. Have not seen Pope but once these two months before last Sunday morning; & he came to town the night before; the next morning he came before I was up. I would not get up, & sent him away to disturb someone else; he came back & said he could meet with nobody. I got drest & went with him to Richardson, & had great diversion. . . . Pope is the greatest glutton I know. He now talks of the many good things he can make; he told me of a soup that must be seven hours a making; he dined with Mr. Murray & Lady Betty, & was very drunk last Sunday night."—*MSS. of the Earl of Spencer, App. to 2nd Rep.*, 19.

There is nothing new in quarrels between literary men. Here is a letter about a feud between two such well-known authors as David Hume and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

FROM DAVID HUME TO . . . 22 AUGUST, 1766 . . . RESPECTING HIS RUPTURE WITH JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.[1]

"My dear Sir, I have used the Freedom to send you in two Paquets by this Post the whole train of

[1] This was probably when Rousseau was the victim of delusions.

my correspondence with Rousseau, connected by a short narrative. I hope you will have leisure to peruse it. The story is incredible & also inconceivable, were it not founded on such authentic documents. Surely never was there so much Wickedness and Madness combined in one human creature." —*MSS. of Alfred Morrison, App. to 9th Rep.*, 477.

Most publishers must have received many letters of the tenor of the following :—

20 MARCH, 1764. FROM THE REVEREND LAURENCE STERNE TO MR. BECKETT, BOOKSELLER, STRAND, LONDON.

"Have you sold any Shandys since Christmas? how many?"—*Ibid.*, 479.

In the eighteenth century there were two celebrated Scotch judges, Lord Auchinlech and Lord Hailes. The former had a son named James, who was very dissipated as a youth, but became respectable, acquired the friendship of Dr. Johnson, and wrote the best biography in the English language.

Among the *Dalrymple MSS.* is a series of letters from James Boswell to Lord Hailes, whom, as Sir David Dalrymple, Boswell had accompanied on the Northern Circuit. The first of these letters begs Hailes to intercede for Boswell to Boswell's father.

The following extracts concern Boswell's early acquaintance with Johnson.

". . . I am now upon a very good footing with Mr. Johnson. . . . Some nights ago we supt by ourselves at the Mitre Tavern, & sat over a sober bottle till between one & two in the morning."

A Fortnight Later.

"On Wednesday evening Mr. Johnson & I had another tete a tete at the Mitre. Would you believe that we sat from half an hour after eight till between two & three? He took me cordially by the hand, & said, My Dear Boswell! I love you very much. . . . He advises me to combat idleness as a distemper, to read five hours every day, but to let inclination direct me what to read. He is a great enemy to a stated plan of study."—*MSS. of Charles Dalrymple, App. to 4th Rep.*, 530.

Specimens of literary criticism are not very common in the *Reports of the Historical Commission*. One shall be given that was written at the end of the eighteenth century. It is an adverse criticism of Gibbon's *History*. Considering the celebrity which that great English classic has since then attained, this criticism will be found very interesting, and in view of the historical style at present popular, it is decidedly amusing, especially when it is observed that, in his attempts to vilify the manner and style of Gibbon, Monboddo unintentionally pays a high tribute of praise to Gibbon's work, according to our modern standard.

Adam Fergusson, Lord Monboddo, the son of a Presbyterian Minister, was successively Chaplain to the 42nd regiment, Tutor to Lord Bute, Professor of Philosophy at Edinburgh University, Secretary to the Commissioners appointed to negotiate with the revolted colonies in America, and a Lord of Session in Scotland. He wrote a number of books, and Sir Walter Scott considered him the most striking example of an historic philosopher of modern days. He was so far a precursor of Darwin as to believe that men were descended from monkeys.

Mr. Edward Chamberlain having asked Lord Monboddo's opinion of the second volume of Gibbon's *History*, his Lordship wrote the following letter on the style and composition of that volume :—

"Monboddo, 6th April 1781.

"Dear Sir,

"I had the honour of your very polite letter together with your observations upon Mr. Gibbon's second volume, which I have read with a great deal of pleasure. The work I have not yet seen, but from the specimens you give me of it, it appears to be in just the style & manner of the first volume. I really do not know what name to give to Mr. Gibbon's style unless it be the name which Mr. Gay gives to his Farce, *The what d' ye call it.* It is neither historical, poetical, rhetorical, or didactic,

but a jumble & heterogenious mixture of all these. . . . Mr. Gibbons is so far from being careless or negligent that he labours very much to write ill, which offends you as much as studied & affected graces in behaviour. Such a man in company pleases you most, when he is negligent & studies to please you least, & that is the case of Mr. Gibbons in his writings. Some passages that he has laboured, I am sure, very much, offend me exceedingly ; while others, that he appears to have bestowed very little pains upon, I like very well. Of this kind is his Preface to his first volume, which is plainly & simply written, without any affected ornaments ; & therefore I like it better in point of style than anything in the book. The characteristical marks of such a style as Mr. Gibbon's are numbers of epithets, periphrases, & minute descriptions, tending to please the fancy or move the passions. These belong to poetry ; & belonging to rhetorick you have the antithesis, & the measured periods, consisting of members commonly of the same length, & of the same form & structure.—As to epithets, there is nothing in my judgment that more distinguishes verse from prose than the frequent use of epithets. Take from Homer his epithets & his versification, & his language is, I am persuaded, nothing but the common language of the time in which he wrote. Now Mr. Gibbons abounds with epithets, & you very often have his periods concluded with two nouns, & each its attendant epithet. In one of the

passages you have transcribed, we have *royal pupil, & immortal bard.* Would Herodotus, Xenophon, or Julius Cæsar, the three most perfect models of the historical style, have written so? As to *periphrases*, you have, in the second passage you quote, a most ridiculous periphrase for an historian, a *casting of nets in the waves of the ocean*, for *fishing in the sea;* & in another passage, for *excommunication*, you have *devoting a man to the abhorrence of earth & heaven.* And as to the minute & circumstantial descriptions, which are so proper in poetry, whose business it is to paint, but for the greater part exceedingly improper in history, you turned up, one evening that I had the pleasure of being in your company, a remarkable example of one, & upon a very strange subject, which however Mr. Gibbons has thought proper to adorn with all the flowers of his wit & eloquence. The subject I mean is the sad pranks of Commodus, which a grave historian would not delight to dwell upon, or to relate circumstantially, even in the plainest manner. As to his rhetorical ornaments, & particularly the antithesis, there is more of that figure in his historical style than is to be found in the orations of Demosthenes. And as to the composition of his periods, he has that tiresome sameness of periods, of two members answering exactly to one another, which I observe to be a common fault in almost all the writers of history of this age, & indeed writers of every kind, & I would have you compare their works in this respect with

my Lord Clarendon's *History of the Civil Wars*, or Milton's *History of England*, particularly the beginning of the first and second book; tho' I do not think that Milton excels so much in the historical as in the rhetorical composition. . . . But the worst of Mr. Gibbon's style I have not yet mentioned, which is that he does not make his narrative credible, & therefore is entirely improper for history. If you had not turned up Herodian, & proved from him that he had no authority for several circumstances he relates of the pranks of Commodus, I should not have believed one half of the story as he tells it, but should have looked upon it as a tale, if not entirely invented, at least very much exaggerated, in order to please & amuse. In this respect I would have you compare Gulliver's narrative of his travels, or Lucian's true history, with Mr. Gibbon's narrative & tell me, whether, setting aside the facts, the style both of Dean Swift & of Lucian is not infinitely more credible. . . . As to Mr. Gibbon's matter, from the samples you give me of it, I am disposed not to have a good opinion of it any more than of the style. . . . So I leave Mr. Gibbon to the admiration of the vulgar, to whom a history written as a history ought to be, would appear very dull, & insipid."—*MSS. of Lord Monboddo, App. to 6th Rep.*, 677-78.

When authors lose heart, it may console them to reflect that even Lord Byron felt very faint-

hearted as to one of his poems selling sufficiently to pay its way.

LORD BYRON TO R. C. DALLAS.

"1809, Feb. 7. . . . We shall never sell a thousand; then why print so many?"—*MSS. of R. E. Egerton Warburton, App. to 3rd Rep.*, 292.

Political affairs shall not be touched upon in this volume; but a few extracts shall be given about parliamentary elections in the eighteenth century.

How the modern heckled M.P. must sigh for a simple pocket-borough of the sort to be now described!

Thomas Coke had lost his seat in the House of Commons.

1700-1, FEB. 24, LICHFIELD. LORD STANHOPE TO THOMAS COKE IN LONDON.

"I hope you won't be offended at my proposing a thing to you which, it may be, may not agree with your inclinations. Mr. Brotherton, who was chosen as a member to serve for Newton in Lancashire, is now dead, & Mr. Lee of Lime has it in his power to put in who he will in his room. If you care to condescend so far as to accept of it, I know I can get it done for you, without you coming down, or giving yourself the least trouble in the matter."—*MSS. of Earl Cowper, vol. ii.*, 421.

For some seats, on the contrary, there was not only much hard fighting, but also a great deal

of bribery. Most of the next letters are from a Mr. Beecher, who appears to have been an electioneering agent.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN BY C. BEECHER TO LORD BRUCE AND ROBERT BRUCE, 1705-14, ABOUT ELECTIONEERING MATTERS. ROBERT BRUCE WAS STANDING FOR BEDWIN.

"1705, April 30. This morning I received a letter from Mr. Bard to Reuben Hulcombe to let me know that three or four score of the votes have received 5li. each & have engaged to serve Pollexfen whose agents gave the 5li. to the women under pretence of their spinning five pounds of wool at 20 shillings a pound."

"1705, Oct. 24. Colonel Hugerford told me he thought he might have interest enough with Ragbourne & Clarke to keep them out of the way if they would not vote for you. He swears that if they will not comply with him they shall never take a penny more of his money, which will be a considerable loss especially to Clarke, who does all the wheelwright's work at his farm."

Robert Bruce seems to have failed to get in, at one election, and Beecher was anxious to unseat his opponent for bribery. On October 29, 1705, he writes about two men, named Francis Bushell and Dick Bartholemew:—

"They are very rogues & must be carefully managed. If there be any safe way to gratify their

desires, it will be very serviceable to do it, for they alone can unravel the whole bribery from first to last, & if they can be wheedled out of town into safe custody from Sir George and Pollexfen it will be very happy."

The wheedling succeeded, for on November 3 he writes :—

"For three days together I have had Dick Bartholemew & Bushell with me. . . . I had them all this day from 9 in the morning till 6, & was forced to keep them company all the while, & drink with them till they were very forward, giving them full liberty. They made themselves drunk, but before that owned all that is writ on the other side."

What was written on the other side is given in full, and it is a long statement giving evidence of bribery. It is attested by witnesses. But, in less than a fortnight, Beecher was himself attempting to bribe on behalf of Bruce at Marlborough; for he laments the defection of a man who had previously promised his vote, on the plea "that he should be hissed at to vote alone from all his brethren:" although Beecher had already given him "20 guineas for a sorry piece of cambric." In the same letter he says: "Mr. Jones told me Tom Smith said if he served, we must take off a bargain of wood at his price. I sent John Bird & J. Mortimer to view it, & they said it was worth very little more than the labour of cutting, & he asked 3li. 10s. an acre for 60 acres, & a promise of an ensign's commission besides

for his brother. I desired Mr. Jones to try him with a sum of 30li. or 40li., rather than such an exhorbitant rate as the other, but he told him that he could make better advantage on the other side, so that in short Marlborough has become ten times worse than Bedwin."

In 1707, Dec. 9, Beecher writes about Bushell (one of the two "very rogues") being again employed; but whether he was being bribed for his own vote, or being bribed to swear that others had committed the crime of bribery, is not quite clear. Bushell was paid £49 and "the other 20s. to make it up to 50li., Bushell's usual price . . . so the bill for 49li. was to look like an odd sum borrowed of him to defray charges."

In 1708 the immaculate Beecher, who had tried to prove bribery against an opponent, wrote about a conference which he had had with a man who appears to have had influence with the electors in a certain constituency. He writes to Lord Bruce: "I proposed 40s. a man for Mr. Bruce, but he thought it most conducing to the establishment of your Lordship's & Mr. Bruce's interest . . . to give them two guineas each."

Then he refers to an election at Bedwin again. "John Bird tells me that the Bedwin people do certainly depend upon 4li. a man, at least those 40 that stood firm to your Lordship & first voluntarily set their hands. . . . If your Lordship thinks fit to distinguish them by 4li. & the rest 3li. a man,

Mr. Bird believes it may be very satisfactory & be a means to bring in all the town very readily to serve your Lordship's interest for the future."

"1712, July 29. . . . I came hither on Monday & went to Marlborough yesterday, where I found that the D[uke][1] himself had been driving very high bargains with the burgesses for the next mayor[2] & Parliament men. . . . He offered Mr. Meggs to become his servant in the nature of a surveyor, & to settle 40li. upon him & his wife for their lives & to make his place worth 40li. a year more to him. To John Clarke he promised to put him into a place in the Bluecoat Hospital worth 50li. or 60li. per annum, to pay his debts & employ him in all business at his farm. This not prevailing, he offered Clarke 200li. ready money. To Solomon Clarke he proposed settling 20li. per annum on him & his wife for life, to give him 30li. in hand, & to lend him more to increase his present stock of money for pin making, to merchandise or take off all the pins he should make & pay his debts. To William Garlick he offered what ready money he would ask, & to pay all his debts, & in hopes to make him comply (or to rid him out of the way as some say) Mr. Piggott drank the poor old man to such a pitch that he was very near death & 'tis thought would have died had not Dr. Savery taken great pains

[1] Duke of Somerset.

[2] A mayor could command the votes of certain officials at an election.

with him, he is so well to go about again, but very weak. . . . All these have flatly refused the D[uke] & rejected his offers."

What offers, then, must Beecher have made to them, if they refused these? A week later Beecher writes :—

"1712, Aug. 6. . . . Rogers says the Duke declares publicly he will give 50li. a man for as many as will desert your Lordship & come over to him. He has actually given John Smith 100li. down, & engaged to be at the charge of educating a son of Smith's of seven years old at school & University, & to present him to a good living when he is capable of it—a good distant prospect this—but however, with the 100li. ready money, it has prevailed with Smith to leave your Lordship. In the room of whom we have got Flurry Bowshire for 40 guineas &c. . . . I am very sorry for this expense my Lord, but without it your Lordship's interest would have been entirely defeated for ever, should the point be gained as to mayor, for Rogers assures me they do intend to bring in a sufficient number of Whig burgesses to secure elections to themselves hereafter, in case they succeed in the mayor."

A year later :—

"1713, Aug. 3. . . . ." After mentioning the names of several double voters, he says : "I find some of these will prove single ones without great sums be given to them. If five guineas a man had been given at first it would have satisfied them, I believe,

but now it is to no purpose to offer so little to those that will make bargains."

Of another election Beecher writes :—

"1713, Sep. 2. . . . The country are much pleased that Mr. Cary is turned out there, who ('tis said) gave four guineas a man to those that voted for him, & one guinea to those that were against him."

"1714, Jan. 14. I am very sorry for all the expense at Marlborough, but the art of man cannot prevent it. . . . Less than 20 guineas a man will not content them for this election."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Ailesbury*, 191, 224.

We now come to a candidate's experience of canvassing about the middle of the eighteenth century.

1754, Aug. 8, London. Robert Maxwell[1] to Lord G. Sackville.

"I arrived here last night from Taunton after a great deal of smoaking, some drinking, & kissing some hundreds of women; but it was to good purpose, for I made a great number of requisitions while I was there. I may venture to say that I have now near 150 majority."—*MSS. of Mrs. Stopford Sackville, App. to 9th Rep.*, 131.

After an election in Cambridgeshire, in which the Duke of Rutland's brother, Lord Robert Manners, had been successful, the agent prided himself on its having been a very cheap victory.

[1] Returned for Taunton, December 24th, same year.

JOHN BUTCHER TO THE DUKE [OF RUTLAND].

"1780, Sep. 21. . . . I flatter myself, your Grace will find the whole expense under £12,000, which, I am well assured, is not half the amount of Mr. York's expense."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, vol. iii., App. to 14th Rep., Part I.*, 37.

Even when free and independent electors visited their representatives in Parliament, in London, they expected to be received in a very liberal spirit.

DANIEL PULTENEY TO THE DUKE [OF RUTLAND].

"[1785,] June 15, Fludyer Street. . . . One of my Bramber friends, who told me he was a smuggler, has called here, whom I made drink with me, explained politicks to him, & gave him five guineas; from all which circumstances I flatter myself he will make a favourable report of me on his return, as he seemed very well disposed to do when half drunk. The man's name is Owen. Mr. Hill has told me he is the idlest fellow in the borough, & that I should not have given him anything; but this I fancy he would have hardly thought a good property in their member, especially as he took good care to tell me that he never parted from your Grace's without a bottle of wine."—*Ibid.*, 216-17.

"There was not a word in the whole book about Ireland. I call that a deliberate & studied insult to the Irish!" So said an Irishman of a

work in which, had there been any reference to the distressful country, it must have been dragged in *vi et armis*. But this is a warning to the compiler of these extracts, who will act upon it by giving two about Ireland.

The first extract is about an Irish patriot, whose Irish humour was not appreciated by the phlegmatic English of the sixteenth century.

RICHARD BROUGHTON TO . . . RICHARD BAGOT.

"15—. . . . On Simon & St. Jude's Day, O'Rourke, a wild Irish Lord that was sent out of Scotland to England, for that he moved the Scots to invade Ireland, was arraigned of high treason;—he made a picture of the Queen in wax, tied it to a horse's tail, & his gallowglasses[1] trailed it in pieces; he would not plead; he is to be hung, drawn, & quartered."—*MSS. of Lord Bagot, App. to 4th Rep., Part I.*, 336.

The second extract shows how rampant was the land-grabber in Ireland, in the year 1663.

EARL OF ORRERY TO ORMOND.

"1663, August 17, Newtown. Some lands which Captain Dillon held in his hands, & stocked with his own stock, have been set to one Joseph Taylor, who, I am confident, was not known, for he is one of the most notorious fellows in this Province, three

[1] Irish, Galloglach. Heavily-armed foot-soldiers of Ireland and the Western Isles.

witnesses being yet alive that this Taylor, going in a boat to buy tobacco at a ship in the Barony of Dunkerron, in the Usurper's time, made some poor women & children to the number of 24, who were without the line, to bind their own corn & to carry it down on their backs to his boat side, where taking out a hatchet he made them all to be murdered with the edge of it, except two sucking children, which he caused to be flung into the sea & drowned. He is a great extortioner, lending money at 14 pounds in the hundred to the Irish to stop their mouths, who else would prove as foul murders against him as this which is ready to be proved, & which I think has not many greater to be found in any age. He was also cashiered as a drunkard & a wh—e-master."—*MSS. of the Marquess of Ormond, New Series, vol. iii.*, 75.

We began by noticing births and christenings; so it is but fitting that we should end with deaths and funerals.

"April, 1621. Information presented to the Right Honourable the Lord President and others his Majesties Council, in the marches of Wales, by Marmaduke Lloyd, Esq., against John Conway, gentleman, Peter Drihurst, & eight others. The persons charged by this information are accused of causing an unseemly riot in the parish church of Ruthlan,[1] on Sunday, 25 March 1621, on the occasion

[1] Ruddlan, near Rhyl, North Wales.

of the funeral of Thomas Conway, of Ruthlan, co. Flint, gentleman, whose body they buried in defiance of lawful authority in the grave of the Mutton family, in the chancel of the said church, although another grave in the same chancel (being the grave of the said gentleman's nearest ancestors) had been opened & prepared for the reception of the corpse. This outrage is said to have been perpetrated in contempt of & malice against the said Thomas Conway's brother-in-law, Peeter Mutton of Lleweine, in the county of Denbigh, esquire, who was present in the church, & vainly protested against the conduct of the rioters, who are alleged to have been armed with staves, daggers, & other weapons. The disorderly business, which had its origin in a dispute concerning right of interment in a particular grave, was attended with some hard fighting, in which the rioters 'with their feete & fistes gave' their opponents 'diverse & sundry sore & murderous blowes, thrustes, & punches in diverse partes of their bodies.'"—*MSS. of P. B. D. Cooke*, *App. to 6th Rep.*, 421-22.

The distribution of money at funerals seems to have become a great abuse early in the seventeenth century.

1629, Dec. Orders and Agreements made at the Parish Church of Whalley, etc.

". . . the doles usually given & distributed at funeralls & burialls in theis parts, do not only little or no good to the neighbouring poore (to whom the

same doles are ment), but also drawe infinite numbers of other poore together from places farre remote, amongst which many wanderers, incorigible rogues, & vagabonds, do flocke in and unworthilie share in the devotions of the dead, never intended for them, as also do pester & trouble those parts (where such funeralls happen to bee) for a longe tyme after, & manie tymes robberies & other outrages are committed ere the countrie bee quit of that disordered crew. And often tymes also wee see that great numbers of persons who are no needers in that kynd (nor take themselves to bee) do by pretext of a custome (but indeed an abuse) come themselves or send theire children, or both, to the said doles & partake thereof, soe as the true indigent poore (for whom it was ment) do receave the least part."—*MSS. of Lord Kenyon*, 39.

Here is a very elaborate invitation to a funeral :—

"John sixth Earl of Cassillis to Alexander sixth Earl of Eglinton: My noble lord. It hath pleased the Almightie to call my deir bedfellow from this valley of teares to hir home (as hir selff in her last wordis called it): There remaines now the last duetie to be done to that pairt of hir left with ws, quhilk I intend to performe vpoun the fyft of Januar next. This I intreat may be hounered with your lordships presence heir at Cassillis that day, at ten in the morning, and frome this to our burriall place at Mayboill, quhich shalbe takin, as a mark of your

lordship's affectioun to your lordship's humble servant, Cassillis. Cassillis the 15 December 1642." —*MSS. of the Earl of Eglinton*, 52.

[1628, Aug. 23.] Anonymous Epitaph on the Duke of Buckingham &c.

"I, who my country did betray,
Undid the King that let me sway
His sceptre as I pleased, threw down
The glory of the English crown.
The courtier's bane, the countrie's hate,
The agent for the Spanish state:
The papist's friend, the gospel's foe,
The Church & kingdom's overthrow.
Here an odious carcase dwell
Till my soul return from hell,
Where with Judas I inherit
A portion that all traitors merit.
If heaven admit of treason, pride, & lust,
Expect my spotted soul amongst the just."

—*MSS. of the Duke of Northumberland, App. to 3rd Rep.*, 70.

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In finishing this book of extracts from private papers, it may not be inappropriate to devote its last page to an extract concerning an examination in the seventeenth century of private papers possessing a singular interest.

1678, JUNE 11, HERALD'S OFFICE IN LONDON. W. DUGDALE TO DR. JOHNSTON.

". . . I well remember that after Mr. Dodsworth & myself had by the favour of Sir Thomas Cotton gleaned out of that rare collection which his worthy father (Sir Robert Cotton) made, all that we thought proper for those volumes relating to the monasteries which are printed &c."

He then says that Sir Thomas told him he "had 2 large bales of ancient papers of State & other things of note which had never been opened since they were so packed by his father," adding that, if Dugdale cared to sort them he might very likely find something of interest in them. Much that was interesting among them Dugdale certainly found; and he "adventured on the work" with great pains. "All of them," he says, "I disposed in such order, when I caused them [to be] bound up in large volumes to the number of about fourscore, with clasps; Sir Thomas paying the bookbinder; but as I did not expect it (though he was a man of £6,000 per annum estate), he never offered me 6d. for my pains."—*MSS. of F. Bacon Frank, App. to 6th Rep.*, 453.

Those were pryings among private papers to some purpose!

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